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HUSAK SPEAKS AT FOREIGN POLICY SEMINAR

LD262321 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 26 Jun 86

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, today took part in a seminar on the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 17th Congress in the foreign policy sphere, which is taking place in Prague with the participation of workers of the diplomatic service, foreign trade, officials of party organizations abroad and other institutions.

In his speech about the current tasks of internal and foreign policy of the CPCZ Gustav Husak stressed that we are entering the period of realization of the demanding program of the 17th Congress which demands a marked improvement in the quality of management and organizational work in all areas. He also pointed out that workers of all parts of our foreign service are faced with a demanding task, to overcome deep-seated routine, to implement more effective methods in realizing congress tasks, in implementing the political and economic interests of our state, and in popularizing the results of the work of our people abroad. He also pointed out the need to increase initiative and activity in fulfilling the goals of our peaceful foreign policy, the joint peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

Comrade Gustav Husak emphasized the importance of efforts for the unification of peaceful, progressive and realistic forces in the world in the struggle for the aversion of the threat of war, for strengthening peace and for the development of constructive international cooperation.

RUDE PRAVO VIEWS SEOUL SUMMER OLYMPICS

AU251111 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Jun 86 p 8

[Vladimir Slobodzian article: "Realistic Proposal"]

[Excerpts] From the moment the members of the IOC awarded the 24th Summer Olympics to South Korea at the 84th session of the top agency of the Olympic movement, in Baden-Baden in 1981 the Olympic movement had had to grapple with a number of difficulties connected with that decision.

The complexity of the political situation of the Korean peninsula, which was divided after 1948 and the DPRK in the northern part of the country embarked on the path of the construction of socialism, was even more aggravated by the imperialist war waged 1950-53 by South Korea and the United States against the people's democratic system. Since that time, the unification of Korea has been systematically thwarted by the resistance of the South Korean military regime, supported by the United States, although the wish of the overwhelming majority of the Korean people is to the contrary. And this is precisely the main motive of the endeavor of the National Olympic Committee [NOC] of the DPRK to have a part of the competitions held also in the northern part of the country.

For a long time the International Olympic Committee [IOC] was deaf to wish of the Koreans to express the community of a 60 million-strong nation and the aspiration to unite with the help of Olympic agency, supported by the government of the dictator Chon tu-hwan.

However, the third meeting of the representatives of the IOC of the two Korean states, held in Lausanne on 10-11 June, might have brought a fundamental turn, maybe because the IOC proposal still depends on the agreement of the two involved parties. In the name of the IOC, J. Samaranch proposed to the two NOC chairmen, Kim Yu-sun (DPRK) nad Kim Chang-hu (South Korea), that the competitions in archery, table tennis, cycling, and some soccer matches of the tournament be held in the DPRK.

By 30 June, the NOC's of the DPRK and South Korea must announce whether they accept the IOC proposal; in that case they would have to meet in Lausanne at a final, fourth meeting by the end of July.

The IOC's Lausanne communique states, among other things, that "the proposal corresponds to the spirit of the Olympic Charter and is in harmony with its changes adopted at the 11th Olympic Congress in Baden-Baden in 1981."

The IOC's offer is another proof that conservative and reactionary forces in the Olympic movement opposing the DPRK demand have had to back down before reality. How the NOC of South Korea reacts, is something we will find out in the very near future.

TESTS AT DOKOVANY NUCLEAR POWER PLANT

AU282057 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Jun 86 p 3

[CTK report: "Testing the Third Block in Dokovany"]

[Text] Dokovany (CTK) -- A series of hydrotests on the third block of the Dukovany nuclear power plant, which is being completed, began on Tuesday [24 Jun].

The cold running-in of the six main circulating pumps will -- as of Wednesday -- continue with 5-day trials of the airtightness of the operations' are through overpressure. After Sunday, there will begin the warming-up of the primary circuit for pressure and tightness tests, with which will begin the program of 20-30 days so-called hot tests on the third block of the Dukovany power plant.

The third 440 MW Dukovany block is to reach full performance regarding the generation of electricity by 31 December 1986. The two completed 440 MW blocks operate reliably.

GORBACHEV, CPSU DELEGATION ARRIVE IN WARSAW

LD281751 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Text] We have learned that a delegation of the CPSU has already arrived in Warsaw for the 10th PZPR Congress. It is headed by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The Soviet guests were welcomed at the Warsaw Okecie Airport by Wojciech Jaruzelski, Zbigniew Messner, and other members of the leadership of the party and state as well as by high Warsaw officials.

10TH PZPR CONGRESS OPEN IN WARSAW 29 JUN

Jaruzelski Opens Congress

LD290854 Warsas Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 29 Jun 86

[Opening statement by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee to the 10th PZPR Congress held in the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw -- live]

[Excerpt] At this very moment Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Willy Stoph, member of the SED Central Committe Politburo and premier of the GDR Government; Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, are entering the hall. All the delegates have risen from their chairs. Also entering the hall are members of the PZPR leadership, members and candidate members of the Politburo, and members of the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat. The 10th PZPR Congress is opening its deliberations. [applause]

[Jaruzelski] Lead in the standard of the Polish United Workers' Party! Esteemed comrade delegates. Esteemed guests. The 10th PZPR Congress begins its proceedings.

You, comrade delegates, have received a report on the work of the Central Committee and on the implementation of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress resolutions. You have also been handed reports from the Central Auditing Commission [CKR] and the Central Party Control Commission [CKKP]. You should be familiar with the Central Committee theses that were the subject of precongress discussion, and a preliminary draft of the socioeconomic plan for the current 5-year period. You also have a draft party program -- reedited after wide discussion -- as well as a draft 10th Congress resolution.

Today the Central Committee report will be presented to you. Additional light on particular issues will be cast by the chairmen of the congress commissions groups. We shall therefore have at our disposal extensive preliminary material for creative discussion and for fruitful work during the 10th PZPR Congress.

Esteemed comrades, 107 foreign delegations have come to our congress. I would like to address warm words of welcome and thanks to all our guest for accepting our invitation and for taking part in the proceeding. [applause]

We warmly welcome the delegation of the party of Lenin -- the CPSU -- led by the general secretary of its Central Committee, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, [applause] our great friend with whose name important initiatives in the struggle for peace and socialism are connected.

We warmly welcome the delegations of the fraternal parties from the socialist countries. [applause] With the awareness of internationalist ties, we cordially welcome delegations of communist and workers' parties from Western Eruope, Asia, Africa, and North and South America. [applause] With feelings of solidarity, we greet delegations of revolutionary and democratic parties and national liberations movements. [applause] With sincere satisfaction, we also greet delegations of socialist and social democratic parties with which the PZPR maintains contacts and cooperates. [applause]

I wish to express the conviction that such widespread participation by foreign guests in the 10th Congress proceedings will strengthen the our party's ties with the international communist and workers movement, with the forces of democracy, progress, and peace in the whole world.

Comrades, today we pay tribute to all those who created our party and shaped its Marxist-Leninist aspect, who built the foundations of an independent, socialist existence for our nation. I cordially greet the representatives of generations of veterans of work. [applause]

I greet the representatives of applied parties, the ZSL delegation led by Roman Malinowski, chairman of the Supreme Committee and Speaker of the PPR Sejm, [applause] and the SD delegation led by Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, chairman of the Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of State. [applause] I greet the PRON leadership with Jan Dobriczynski, chairman of the National Council [applause]. I greet representatives of the trade union movement led by Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the National Trade Union Accord [CPZZ] and member of the Council of State, who together with numerous other trade union activities is a delegate to our congress. [applause] I greet delegations of representatives of the scientific and cultural world, youth and social organizations, and eminent non-party members, from various spheres of our country's life. [applause] I welcome all the guests that have been invited. I welcome all you women and men, comrade delegates. [applause]

Esteemed comrades! The past 5-year period has seen death remove Comrade Wladyslaw Gomulka, a leading founder of the PZPR and of People's Poland, a former first secretary of the Central Committee and an outstanding Polish statesman. During this period many merited veterans and selfless members of the party have departed from our ranks. Let us honor their memory with a minute's silence. [silence]

Esteemed comrades! In the precongress period working people and numerous workers' and youth collectives undertook and implemented many social and production deeds. Confident that I am expressing the feelings of us all, I wish to convey to them works of sincere gratitude and profound acknowledgement. [applause]

Our congress is a result of the efforts and aspirations of the whole party. The successful implementation of the decisions we make here will also depend on the party. Allow me, on behalf of the 10th Congress participants, to convey sincere greetings to all PZPR members and candidate members. [applause]

On behalf of the Central Committee I declare the 10th PZPR Congress open. [applause] I aks Comrade Jozef Czyrek to assume the chairmanship of the deliberations.

Czyrek Chairs Congress Voting

LD290924 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0750 GMT 29 Jun 86

[Procedural voting on composition and agenda for commissions at the 10th PZPR Congress chaired by Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member; at the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw -- live]

[Text] Comrade delegates! We are about to examine the necessary procedures. First of all, I propose the election of a scrutinizing commission to count the votes cast in open voting. You have received, comrades, in your materials, and specifically in this booklet here, the draft composition of the commisson together with the proposal that its work be directed by Comrade Andrzej Galus, a delegate from Katowice Voivodship.

It is proposed that the commission number 17 persons. This composition, and those of all other congress commissons, were discussed with delegates in the voivodships. In connection with these proposals, have you, comrades, any comments regarding the number of persons making up the scrutinizing commission for counting votes in the open ballots? I do not see anyone. Who is in favor of the election of the scrutinizing commisson in the proposed composition? Please raise your cards. Thank you. Who is opposed? Who abstains? I declare that the congress has unanimously elected the scrutinizing commisson for counting votes in the open ballots. I ask the comrades selected for the commission to begin work.

Delegates! The congress deliberations are led by its Presidium, whose executive body is the Secretariat. Their composition was also discussed with all delegations in the voivodships. In the course of those consultations, you, comrades delegates, agreed to a Presidium composed of 161 persons, and a Secretariat of 18 persons. It was also agreed during the consultations that for organization reasons the persons proposed would take their places in the Presidium before the congress began. As you see, comrades, this agreement has been fully implemented. I appeal, therefore, to you, comrade delegates, to confirm by a vote our previous decisions. Who is in favor of the election of the congress Presidium and Secretariat in the proposed number and composition? Thank you. Who is opposed? Who abstains? I declare that the congress Presidium and Secretariat have been unanimously elected.

Let us pass on to the examination of the draft agenda for the deliberations for our party's 10th Congress. Do you, comrade delegates, have any comments on the proposed agenda for our work? I do not see anyone. Who is therefore, in favor of the adoption of the agenda for the deliberations? Please raise your cards. Thank you. Who is opposed? Who abstains? The agenda for the deliberations has been unanimously approved.

Next, we are to examine the draft regulations for the deliberations of our congress. Have you, comrades, any comments on the proposed regulations? Who is in favor of the adoption of the regulations for the deliberations? Please raise your cards. Thank you. Who is opposed? Who abstains? I declare the regulations for the deliberations approved unanimously.

Let us proceed to the election of the 10th Congress commissons. Delegates have received proposals for the composition of the mandates commission, together with the suggestion of the mandates commission, together with the suggestion that its work be headed by Comrade Krystayna Karczewska, delegate from Lodz. Are there any comments regarding these proposals? Who is in favor of the election of the mandates commisson in the proposed composition and of entrusting the function of chairman to Comrade Krystyna Karczewska? Who is opposed? Who abstains? I declare that the congress has elected the mandates commission in the proposed composition and has entrusted the chairmanship to Comrade Krystyna Karczewski.

I now propose that we elect the commision for the 10th Congress resolution of this commission and the person of its chairman? I do not see anyone. Let us proceed with the vote. Who is in favor of the election of the commisson for the 10th Congress resolution in the proposed composition and of entrusting the function of chairman to Comrade Tadeusz Porebski? Thank you. Who is opposed? Who abstains? I declare that the congress has elected the commission for the 10th Congress resolution and entrusted its chairmanship to Comrade Tadeusz Porebski.

Let us proceed to the election of the commission for the PZPR Program. Are there any comments regarding the proposed composition of that commission and its chairman? I do not see anyone, so I propose that we vote. Who is in favor of the election of the commission for the PZPR Program in the proposed composition and of entrusting the function of chairman to Jozef Czyrek? Thank you. Who is opposed? Who abstains? I declare that the congress has elected the commission for the PZPR Program and entrusted its chairmanship to Comrade Jozef Czyrek.

Now, I will propose the commission for the PZPR Statute. Would the comrades like to suggest any motions concerning the draft that has been submitted, the composition of the commission, and the candidate for its chairmanship. No motions. Who is in support of the electon of the commission for PZPR Statute affairs with the suggested membership and of te entrusting the function of chairman to Comrade Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak? Thank you. Who is opposed? Who abstains? I declare that the congress has elected the commission for PZPR Statute affairs and entusted its chairmanship to Comrade Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak.

Now we will elect the electoral commission. Are there any motions concerning the draft for this commission's composition? Who supports the election of the 81-people-strong electoral commission with the suggested membership and supports Comrade Marian Wozniak as its chairman? Who is opposed? Who abstains? I declare that the congress has unanimously elected the electoral commission with the suggested membership and entrusted its chairmanship to Comrade Marian Wozniak.

Comrades delegates, Let us now elect the appeals commission for the 10th Congress. Do the comrades have any remarks as to its suggested composition? No motions. Who is in favor of electing the 55-people-strong apealls commission with the suggested membership and entrusting its chairmanship to Comrade Kazimierz Barcikowski? Who is opposed? Who abstains? I declare that the congress has elected the 10th Congress appeals commission with the suggested composition and entrusted its chairmanship to Comrade Kazimierz Barcikowski.

With this we have now concluded the election of the 10th PZPR Congress commissions. Now, I request Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee, to deliver a report for the PZPR Central Committee Politburo.

POLICE BREAK UP POZNAN DEMONSTRATION, ARREST 10

AU291709 Paris AFP in English 1655 GMT 29 Jun 86

[Excerpt] Poznan, Poland, June 29 (AFP) -- Riot police broke up a demonstration here Sunday of more than 5,000 supporters of the banned Solidarity union and made at least 10 arrests, eyewitnesses said. The demonstrators, who gathered after an open-air mass celebrated at the city's cathedral by Jozef Cardinal Glemp, Roman Catholic primate of Poland, were on their way to a monument dedicated to the victims of the June 1956 workers riots, in which 70 people were shot dead by security forces. The demonstrators chanted slogans such as: "We want Lech (former Solidarity leader Lech Walesa) and not Wojciech (Jaruzelski, Polish leader)," "Free the political prisoners," and "No freedom without Solidarity.")

In his sermon, Mgr Glemp paid tribute to the victims of the June 1956 incidents and denounced the "cynicism" of the authorities of that time. But the church, he said, is "always prepared to work for national entente."

Earlier, the archibishop of Poznasn, Mgr Jerzy Stroba, praised the Poznan rioters and stressed "the people's right to truth, freedom, and dignity."

ITALIAN MP AMONG ARRESTED IN WARSAW DEMONSTRATION

AU301121 Paris AFP in English 1119 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] Warsaw, June 30 (AFP) -- Eight demonstrators, including an Italian member of parliament, were arrested Monday while pleading freedom for Polish political prisoners in front of the building where the Polish Communisty Party Congress was being held. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was scheduled to address the meeting at the time of the demonstration.

Italian Radical Party MP Franco Corleone and another two Italians, a Frenchman, two Belgians and two Spanish women were arrested shortly after they unfurled a banner proclaiming "Free political prisoners."

As three police vans arrived, two demonstrators chained themselves to a stairway handrail and others lay down on the pavement of Warsaw's principal Marszalkowska Avenue, lined by numerous onlookers.

CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES 13TH RCP CC PLENUM

AU261001 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Jun 86 pp 1,3 and 4

[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at the 23 June Bucharest opening of the RCP Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] Dear Comrades; the party Central Committee plenum is discussing the socioeconomic development plan for the 1986-90 5-Year Plan period and certain measures to better organize production and work and improve the financing system, proceeding from the need to firmly apply self-management and self-administration in all fields of activity.

This plan is based on decisions adopted by the 13th RCP Congress and the program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensure our country's progress toward communism.

As is well known, the plan was discussed in detail by all ministries and units; hence, everybody is familiar with this plan, which reflects the thinking of all management cadres and, one can say, of the working people from all socioeconomic units.

Concurrently with drafting the national plan, we formulated programs per branches and subbranches, with a view to ensuring a balanced development of all sectors.

The main target of the Eighth 5-Year Plan is Romania's transition from the stage of developing country to the higher stage of an averagely developed country. One can say that the 1986-90 5-Year Plan is decisive for implementing the party program, which aims at ensuring that our country becomes a comprehensively developed one by the year 2000, in which the communist principles of work and life are strongly asserted in all fields.

We have wonderful provisions, hence we must resolutely work to implement them in order to raise our fatherland to higher peaks of progress and civilization, increase the people's overall well-being, and strengthen the country's independence and sovereignty. (loud applause)

The plan provisions submitted for discussion ensure the transition to an intensive development of industry, agriculture, and other branches of activity, in accordance with the 13th RCP Congress decisions. We aim at firmly working to implement the new scientific-technical revolution and the new agrarian revolution, which must lead to modernizing and raising the entire socioeconomic activity to a higher stage. We must achieve a new quality of work and life.

The new stage of socioeconomic development requires a further increase in the role of science, education, culture, and the political-educational activity of fashioning the new man, as a decisive element of pooling all the people's efforts to implement the goals of the 13th RCP Congress. (loud applause).

As you have been able to see from the documents examined here, industrial production will increase by 40-45 percent during the 1986-90 5-Year Plan at an annual rate of 7-8 percent, in accordance with the 13th Congress provisions

Agricultural production will increase by 35-40 percent, at an annual rate of 5-6 percent. The other economic branches will also develop accordingly.

The program of measures for the intensive development and better organization of production and work, for the improvement of technologies, and for the maximum utilization of productive capacities has shown that, beginning with this year, we can obtain a supplementary production of several hundreds of billions of lei until 1990. As a matter of fact, we must approach the 5-year plan proceeding from the supplementary program, hence we must take all steps to organize the activity of all ministries, central departments, units, and all counties in such a way as to commendably fulfill the provisions included in the supplementary programs.

Likewise, in agriculture we aim to attain an additional production of 20-30 billion lei for the entire 5-year plan period. The plan accordingly provides for increases in all other sectors.

Small-scale industry and services will also register a strong development; by 1990 they must expediently meet the working people's requirements. To give an example, services should increase by more than 80 percent during the current 5-year plan.

All programs are an integral part of the 5-year plan and I again stress that they must be at the basis of the activity of all ministries and units and must be commendably fulfilled.

Particular attention should be paid to developing the raw material base and implementing the energy program. By 1990, we must generally resolve the electric power problem. However, this presupposes resolute steps to fulfill the program for developing the energy base and commission coal-based power stations, hydropower stations, and nuclear power stations on time. In this respect, we reached the conclusion that we must review the nuclear energy program, proceeding from the need to increase its safety level.

At the same time, we must take firmer steps to further develop and increase new energy sources. It is also necessary to further increase the amount of recovered and recycled materials in all fields, including energy sources. It is up to each unit to find the surest way to secure the material and energy base, which means the rational utilization and continuous reduction of energy and material consumption. All working people's collectives must pay daily attention to special programs drafted for these fields.

Everybody knows the provisions for recovering and recycling materials; their implementation must lead to ensuring 50 percent of the required raw materials in many fields, and even more than 50 percent in certain fields. Hence, the implementation of these programs cannot be left to chance. One must properly understand that smooth technical-material supplies and the fulfillment of programs for the country's overall development depend on this.

The intensive development requires, as an objective prerequisite, the further improvement of the quality of production and an increase in the technical level of production. We have a special program for this field, also, and must take all steps to implement it. Everything we produce must be at the highest possible quality level, comparable to the best similar products at the world level.

It is necessary to take resolute steps to increase labor productivity by 10 percent annually and to implement the supplementary provisions included in the program of measures submitted to the Central Committee.

The good experience of enterprises that applied measures for organizing and improving technologies shows that labor productivity has increased by 2-2.5 times. There are fields where labor productivity has increased by 5-6 times.

We should now generally introduce, as soon as possilbe, the good experience acquired and unflinchingly implement the measures established for branches, subbranches, and units. We should proceed from the fact that we must double labor productivity by 1990. We must never forget that a high labor productivity is the decisive factor in implementing the party program and the 13th congress decisions and that labor productivity is decisive in asserting the superiority of the socialist society and the creative power of the working people and all the people, who have become masters of their destiny and are consciously building their own communist future. (loud and prolonged applouse)

Along with the increase in labor productivity, we are thinking about a transition, during the current 5-year plan, to reducing the working week to 42 hours. This requires a better organization of shifts and of the working week in all units and sectors.

The unswerving implementation of measures envisaged in the program for organizing production and work must lead to strengthening order, discipline, and the responsibility of management bodies and all working people, and to increasing the revolutionary workers spirit, as a decisive prerequisite for the smooth development of activities and the commendable fulfillment of the plan.

In their capacity as owners and producers, the working people in each unit and the collective management bodies are fully responsible for implementing all measures, attaining maximum productions in each unit, and further increasing the national wealth and income, which represent the decisive way to ensure the fatherland's overall development and raise the people's overall well being. (loud and prolonged applause)

Dear comrades, in the Eighth 5-Year Plan we will implement a volume of investments of about 1,400 billion lei, thus ensuring the necessary means for the further harmonious development of the forces of production. We will carry out large energy projects, will prepare the Arges River for navigation on the Bucharest-Danube route, and will complete irrigation systems on about 2.5 million hectares. In 1990, fixed assests will reach 3,800 billion lei, of which almost 3,100 billion lei will represent productive assets. You can see the huge efforts made by our people and party to ensure the necessary means for enlarged reproduction and for the development of the technical-material base of socialism and communism! We can now assert, with justified pride, that these efforts proved that the only way to ensure the victory of socialism and communism is to further develop the fixed assets, the technical-material base, and the enlarged reproduction. Only with a strong material base can we ensure our firm progress toward the golden dream, communism! (loud and prolonged applause).

Likewise, it is worthwhile stressing at this plenum the correctness of our party's policy to rationally distribute the forces of production throughout the country. On this basis, all counties and localities in our fatherland have registered and will continue to register a strong development. In 1990 there will be no county left with an industrial production under 20 billion lei or per capita production of less than 50,000 lei. This will ensure increasingly better living and working conditions for all of our fatherland's citizens, thus actually guaranteeing full equality of rights among all working people and all citizens, since only by securing working and living conditions can one ensure true equality of rights. (loud and prolonge applause)

In view of the large volume of investments, we should take resolute steps to complete all envisaged activities in good time and to commission all productive capacities. At the same time, we must ensure the proper functioning of existing capacities, within established parameters. In this respect, we must ensure their proper maintenance and thoroughly plan major repairs at appropriate dates.

I do not wish to dwell now on certain negative states of affairs in the sphere of production and investments. We have discussed them many times. We discussed them in detail over the last few months, when we prepared the materials submitted to this plenum for discussion. Everybody should realize that all ministries, central departments, enterprises, working people's collectives, party county committees, and party organizations must act in a spirit of high responsibility to eliminate negative states of affairs as soon as possible and to ensure the commendable fulfillment of plans and programs. Only thus can we guarantee the expedient fulfillment of plans and programs; only thus can we guarantee the expedient fulfillment of the 5-year plan. We must do all we can to ensure that the entire party and all our people work in a spirit of communist and revolutionary exactingness in all spheres! (loud and prolonged applause)

Dear comrades, the fulfillment of the 13th congress decisions presupposes, as an objective prerequisite, the improvement of the new economic-financial mechanism. Each socioeconomic unit must operate on this basis of self-administration. We have often discussed these problems, but we must openly admit that we have not yet implemented the provisions of this new economic mechanism. There is a great deal of talk about it, but little has been attained. It seems that certain comrades act in the spirit of Caragiable [classic Romanian author of satirical theater plays], namely: "Let there be changes, but everything should stay the same!" It seems that this is how the comrades from the financial and economic field thought: Let us have a new mechanism, but we should work on the basis of the old one. In actual fact, we work almost entirely on the basis of the old mechanism. We must resolutely throw it into the garbage can, as the saying goes, and we must firmly introduce the new mechanism, namely self-management and self-administration. Each unit should operate on the basis of self-management and self-administration! It is inadmissible to continue with the present situation, namely to function at the expense of the state budget and the work of others! (Lively applause)

The programs on perfecting the self-financing program and the new financial measures aim at eliminating anarchy and waste and at setting forth compulsory financial norms for all fields of activity.

We must work resolutely to reduce production costs, primarily material expenditures.

We must put an end to the trend of unjustifiably raising prices in certain sectors. The increase in profits and profitability must not be attained by raising sale prices but by reducing expenditures and further expanding the itemized production.

The new measures aim at ensuring that all units can finance themselves entirely or to the largest extent from their own incomes, by radically reducing credits.

The financing system on the basis of credits has proven to be inappropriate. It has become an obstacle to the application of the new economic-financial mechanism and has led to an unjustifiable increase in material stockpiles and unfinished output.

We will have to accelerate the production and sale processes and shorten the production-commodity-money cycle. We must proceed in such a way as to ensure that each unit takes steps to utilize available means and raw and other materials, take into production and process good quality products quickly, sell its produce, and cash its sales as soon as possible, in accordance with its prices and production costs. On this basis, each unit can secure its finances and means for resuming the production process.

The current situation is inadmissible: Stockpiles have increased by more than 20 billion lei in the first months alone, including unfinished production and unsold commodity stocks, while the units have resorted to credits to finance their activity further.

This is a very serious problem, which we must eliminate as soon as possible. Financial and economic bodies and enterprise managements must realize that society cannot finance poor activity, stockpiles, and those who fail to fulfill their obligation to carry out their activity properly!

We should improve management and planning, on the basis of workers' self-management and the greater responsibility of management councils and of the general meetings of owners, producers, and end-users. Let us harmoniously blend the spirit of initiative, autonomy, and self-administration with the uniform national plan and the uniform management of the entire economy.

We have many unit managers, management councils, and, why not say it, even ministries which have understood and understand self-management as meaning that they should spend as much as possible and demand as much as possible from the state; they do not understand it in the spirit of the country's laws and party decisions which, when the issue of self-management was raised, set out from the need that each unit and working people's collective should administer the means entrusted to it with maximum efficiency and ensure maximum profitability. It is high time we put an end to this state of affairs!

I said that I do not wish to dwell on shortcomings; but I find it very hard to abstain from referring to the very negative states of affairs which were apparent even this month, and to the lack of responsibility of certain ministries and units in fulfilling the production earmarked for export. We will pay particular attention to this problem during the plenary debates. We use raw materials, spend money, and stockpile products, while failing to attain the production earmarked for export. This is an inadmissible attitude and I suggest to the plenum that we should make those who continue along these lines account to the party and people for their inadequate activity. We cannot further tolerate this state of affairs which runs counter to the interests of the people and socialism! (lively applause).

At the same time, we must firmly apply the new remuneration on the basis of the overall contract system, which ensures the implementation of the socialist principle "From everybody according to his capacity, to everybody according to his work." The incomes of all working people in all sectors must only be decided by their work results. Always proceeding from the fact and the socialist principle that there is "no work without bread and no bread without work." Nobody may live in our society without work. We have permanently eliminated exploitation, oppression, and the possibility that people may have incomes without work, hence, we must firmly apply the principles of socialist equity in all fields!

We are building a society of free work, in which everything that is being produced belongs to all the people and ensures the overall development of the fatherland and the further increase in the material and intellectual well-being of the people. (loud applause).

Dear comrades, our intensive development and the implementation of the 13th Congress' decisions require that we lay emphasis on the new scientific-technical revolution. We have a special program for scientific-technical revolution. We have a special program for scientific-technological research. We must strengthen the links between science, education, and production. Socialism and communism can only be successfully attained on the basis of the latest achievements of science, technology, and overall human knowledge.

Since I am talking about the intensification of the activity of scientific-technological research, I would like to draw attention to the fact that this presupposes a high spirit of responsibility and perseverance in further improving production processes and technologies, while always bearing in mind that the new products and technologies should ensure a reduction in consumption and expenditures and an increase in labor productivity.

Last week I visited an exhibition of machine-tools. Certain good results were displayed, but I noticed that a number of machines and installations with lower material consumption have doubled their selling prices. We were told that the new machines will lead to higher productivity and turn out more products, hence they thought that they should also increase their prices. This runs counter to the country's laws and we cannot accept this situation at all! The new products and technologies available must obviously be better from all viewpoints, and this new equipment should lead to a production increase several times over. But this does not mean that we should increase the selling price of a given machine; on the contrary, by reducing its material consumption and weight we must also reduce its price. Concerning the products I saw on display at that exhibition, we must achieve a 20-30 percent reduction in costs, not a doubling of the selling price.

In this respect, we have appropriate bodies in charge of prices, planning, and research which are responsible for supervising all these facets. The new regulations envisage certain measures that would prevent this practice of increasing prices. But no matter how good the decisions and laws may be, we must ensure that people apply them and that a revolutionary change occurs in the thinking of leading cadres in units, central departments, and ministries; the ministry, central department, the enterprise, and all who work there are to be blamed, particularly the minister who permitted such prices to be set for the new products, as well as the ministry management and the financial and price bodies which accepted these prices. This example proves once more what I have already said, namely, that many economic managers continue to think along outdated lines and stick to the trend of acquiring incomes without work and causing damage to the national economy. This indeed means causing damage to the national economy. I dwell on this problem because it is not an accidental case, but rather a general trend which we should eliminate. As a matter of fact, since we are talking about the scientific-technical revolution we should complete it with a revolution in people's consciousness. We must change the awareness of our management cadres and bring about a revolution in the way of thinking and acting of economic managers in all sectors. Without such a revolution in the consciousness and thinking of the people, we cannot attain a true scientific-technical revolution! (loud applause)

We should also take resolute steps to improve and raise the level of all of education. Let us proceed from the need to modernize instructional textbooks and the entire educational activity, with a view to mastering the latest achievements and closely linking education to practice and production. We will have to combat trends toward narrow specialization which, in many cases, are not determined by the need for such specialization but rather by the desire to ensure another teaching chair and a department head, who believes that his specialized knowledge entitles him to such a chair.

We must proceed from the need to arm youth with all-round knowledge, by obviously giving priority to basic subject matters, but also by training them in such a way as to endure that -- during their activity, in accordance with the requirements of the national economy and society in general -- the working people have a sufficiently thorough training to allow them to move easily to another specialized field.

We will have to pay greater attention to implementing the programs for raising the professional and technical training of cadres by thoroughly organizing the recycling of cadres in all sectors of activity. In practical terms, we must ensure that every few years, let us say every 5, each working man attends evening courses to improve his skills.

The ever more modern equipment and the latest achievements of science and technology which we are introducing into the production flow require people with high training, hence the need arises periodically to raise their qualification level. As a matter of fact, man is the decisive element of progress, hence -- in order to implement the scientific-technical revolution in all sectors -- we must concern ourselves with training the men who will carry out this revolution.

Dear comrades, the 5-year plan has important provisions concerning the development of our international economic relations and production sharing. We will have to work resolutely to develop ties with the socialist countries belonging to CEMA in order to implement the long-term economic program, attain production sharing and specialization, and fulfill the comprehensive scientific-technical program up to the year 2000. All this must ensure the strong development of each socialist country, the implementation of programs adopted by party congresses in each socialist country, the successful construction of socialism and communism, the increase in the general well-being of our nations, and the growth of the prestige of socialism in the world.

At the same time, it is ncessary to broadly develop economic relations and production sharing with all socialist countries.

An important role must be played by relations with the developing countries and the expansion of production sharing with these states. Likewise, we must intensify economic relations with the developed capitalist countries. We must actively participate in the international division of labor and the world exchange of material and cultural values.

It is necessary to pay great attention to exports, to attaining the production earmarked for export and selling it as soon as possible by delivering it to our partners. I believe that we should take special steps, as I have previously said, in order to attain, in a timely and commendable way, export production at a high qualitative level. We should probably review the way in which the overall contract system is applied in the foreign trade field, because it seems that this principle is not adequately applied in the foreign trade sector.

We will have to permanently supervise the increase in the efficiency of our foreign trade and intensify barter trade, which ensures the necessary prerequisites for expanding our international relations.

I think it is not necessary for me to stress the importance of foreign trade, economic relations, and production sharing, with all that this implies. This must create conditions for attaining our imports of raw and other materals as well as other products required by the smooth development of our production flow, and must also ensure an equal balance of payments, by taking into consideration the fact that we need a surplus in order to quickly eliminate our foreign debt.

Everybody should properly understand that export activity and international relations must always be the concern of all party-state bodies, units, and working people. All units must realize that the attainment of export tasks is a priority duty and we must do all we can to commendably carry out this activity.

Dear comrades, the fulfillment of the 5-year plan and all other programs is the decisive element in raising the material and cultural well-being of the working people and the entire nation. Only on the basis of increasing the national income can we ensure the necessary means both for developmenmt and for raising the living standard.

In the current 5-year plan, 70 percent of the national income will be allocated to consumption and 30 percent to the development fund. This distribution of the national income will ensure both the means for developing the forces of production and for increasing the national wealth -- which are most important for our fatherland's development -- and the necessary conditions for raising the people's material and cultural living standards, the supreme goal of our party policy and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society that we are successfully building in Romania. [loud applause]

Life and reality have strongly proven that only by securing a high percentage of accumulation can we attain greater reproduction, develop the forces of production, science, education, and culture, and ensure the overall progress of our fatherland! Only thus can we ensure the socialist and communist future of our people and the continuous increase in our material and cultural well-being! [lively applause] One should understand that we cannot consume everything we produce at a given moment and that to do so would endanger and jeopardize the very future of our fatherland and nation!

In the 1986-90 5-Year Plan, the real remuneration of the working people and the incomes of the peasantry will increase by 6-8 percent. Social expenditures per inhabitant will also increase.

The plan ensures the necessary means to attain an important volume of housing construction and other sociocultural establishments. Through the completion of about 700,000 new apartments in the current 5-year plan, we will gradually resolve the housing problem. We now have many counties and towns which no longer need new dwellings. Some of them do not even know to whom they should give some of these dwellings.

We have made great efforts in this field. Our fatherland's cities have become new and modern cities; our villages have also registered strong development. That is why we should use the buildings that will be finished in the current 5-year plan to conclude, along general lines, the organization and planning of the country's cities.

Therefore, we have to review once again and to perfect town planning in accordance with the norms we have submitted for the discussion of the Central Committee plenum. It is particularly necessary to proceed with greater determination to commune and village planning. These measures play an important role in improving the level of civilization and in bringing the living and working conditions between towns and villages closer to each other. We must see to it that, beginning with this 5-year plan, we will change the image of communes and villages through better planning, so that by the year 2000 we will conclude both the planning and the organization of communes and villages in general terms.

All this is part and parcel of our party program of raising the level of civilization and of creating conditions for proceeding to the construction of communism in Romania. [loud, prolonged applause]

Dear comrades, we have a long-term plan; we have an important number of programs which will jointly ensure smooth developmenmt and the resolute implementation of the 13th RCP Congress decisions. What is decisive now is the organizational activity and the activity aimed at fulfilling those plans and programs! It depends on the activity of each minister, each central department, and the managerial councils in all units, and on the activity of all working people to implement all these wonderful programs!

It seems that there are still many things to be done to improve and perfect the management of all areas. In this respect we must continue to strengthen socialist democracy as a decisive factor for our homeland's development. We must perfect the activity of ther managerial councils, of the general meetings of working people, and of the owners, producers, and end-users. We must see to it that each working people's collective will act with great responsibility to implement the plan and programs in order to vigorously increase production, productivity, profitability, and economic efficiency.

Furthermore, the state bodies and our socialist state must ensure a uniform leadership of all areas and of the entire society -- and, at the same time, must broadly develop cooperation between the state bodies and the new democratic bodies in various areas of activity. We must proceed from the fact that the state bodies and democratic bodies constitute a unitary whole and together, they represent and constitute the new democratic form of our state and of workers' revolutionary democracy.

I believe it is necessary to refer once again to the necessity for the Council of Ministers to fulfill its tasks more appropriately and play its role in the uniform management of all areas. Recently, we adopted certain organizational measures; according to the branches we have created councils whose mission it is to ensure the uniform operation and the timely solution of problems in each area. More determined measures are necessary for promoting cadres and for a better distribution of manpower in keeping with the given capacity and with each individual's sense of responsibility at his workplace.

We must ensure more active participation by leadership cadres -- beginning with the members of the Political Executive Committee, and the party and state aktiv -- in activities carried out in counties and units.

Generally speaking, I believe that on the whole, from top to bottom, it is necessary to perfect and pay greater attention to participation by the party aktiv and cadres in grassroots activity where, in the final analysis, the fulfillment of the plan and the solution of problems is decided and where the implementation of all targets put forward by the 13th RCP Congress is ensured.

Once again, I want to dwell on the need to constantly respect and firmly apply the country's laws and the party's decisions. The communist spirit, the revolutionary spirit, means to respect and apply laws and decisions! This is a basic and elementary requirement of a party and state activist! Any failure to observe laws and the violation of laws and party decisions means implicitly to put oneself outside the country's laws and decisions and to put oneself outside the party!

It is necessary to properly understand that laws and party decisions are compulsory for all and that no one is permitted, by any means, to ignore them and not apply them! [loud applause]

The fulfillment of the great goals put forward by the 13th Congress requires a constant strengthening of the party, of its ideological and organizational unity, and the enhancement of its leading role.

All party organizations, all town and county committees, and all party bodies are responsible for uniting the efforts of all working people in implementing the targets and programs of each unit and each county. One cannot speak of the party's leading role in case where the party bodies and organizations are not acting with the greatest of determination to fulfill their tasks. How can one appreciate the activity carried out by a communal or county party organizaton or the activity of the party in a unit when the industrial production plan and the agricultural production plan are not fulfilled? We must determinedly eliminate formalism and the practice by some party bodies and organizations of making a show of their activity.

We must take firmer action to resolve the problems of the working people and we must constantly strengthen the link between the party bodies and organizations, the party in general, the working people's masses, and the people. Let us always proceed from the fact that socialism is being built with the people and for the people and that only together with the people will be able to ensure the victory of socialism and communism in our homeland, an improvement in the general well-being, and the constant strengthening of Romania's independence and sovereignty! (loud, prolonged applause)

We must intensify and perfect ideological and political-educational activity, both within the party and in the ranks of the people's masses. In ideological activity and the party's educational activity we must proceed from the need to increase the revolutionary spirit, communist awareness, and the devotion and spirit of revolutionary struggle of each communist. Let us intensify our activity of fashioning a new man, a conscious builder of the new social system.

We must understand that workers revolutionary democracy is closely linked to the constant elevation of the workers-revolutionary awareness of our whole nation, and that only by acting conscientiously and properly understanding the problems of our homeland's development and international problems will the working people act in keeping with the new realities!

Let us always base our political-educational activity on the revolutionary materialist-dialectical and historic concept, and on the principles of scientific socialism! Let us firmly combat everything that is old and retrograde, all backward concepts of any kind! Let us improve the level of awareness of our people proceeding from the fact that only in this way and only thus will our party be able to fulfill optimally its historic role of leading the whole nation, in close unity, in implementing the party program, and on the road to the victory of socialism and communism in our homeland! (loud, lively applause)

We have a powerful party and we have a long-term program. But above all we have wonderful people who are resolutely implementing our party's domestic and foreign policy. Thus, we have everything that is needed to look with trust upon the implementation of the plan and programs that we are discussing at this plenum. Let us do all we can to implement optimally the goals of the 13th Congress and those of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, in order to thus ensure our homeland's elevation to new heights of progress and civilization and the constant strengthening of Romania's material and cultural potential! (loud, prolonged applause)

Dear comrades, as I have mentioned on other occasions, in order to fulfill our plan and programs we need peace. Therefore, our party and Socialist Romania attach great importance to developing international cooperation with all countries, irrespective of social system. We have reached a stage at which the international situation continues to be very serious. The arms race and primarily the nuclear arms race continues. Therefore, the basic problem of our time is to achieve disarmament and ensure peace, to eliminate nuclear weapons, and achieve a world without weapons and without wars!

Our party's and state's activity and initiatives in this respect are known. The Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact reached important decisions which reflect the desire of the socialist states to do all they can to change the dangerous trend of events and ensure a policy of detente and peace. The meeting focused on disarmament and peace matters. The decisions adopted fully reflect the common positions and desire of all member-countries to act to achieve disarmament and ensure peace. The appeal program on reducing weapons, troops, and military expenditures by 25 percent by 1990 is of particular importance and, for the first time, offers real prospects for proceeding -- along with reducing nuclear weapons -- to a substantial cutback in conventional weapons.

I believe that the program adopted by the socialist countries of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact ensures good prospects. We, I have to state frankly, would have liked more; however, it is very important to make a beginning -- and if we will achieve this cutback mentioned in the appeal, that is 25 percent by 1990, we will create the necessary conditions to proceed to further such cutbacks up to the year 2000. One can state that a 25-percent cutback in weapons, troops, and expenditures by 1990 creates real prospects for achieving a cutback of at least 50 percent by the year 2000, certainly under conditions of implementing the program on nuclear disarmament in three stages up to the year 2000 proposed by the Soviet Union, a program that is of great importance.

As a matter of fact, these two programs complement each other and, for the first time, open up real prospects to proceed to disarmament. This will lend new prospects to the people's struggle to fully eliminate wars from the life of mankind.

The situation continues to be particularly serious in Europe; new weapons are being stockpiled and new missiles are being deployed. Therefore, we believe that it is necessary for all European countries and all peoples on our continent to act with great responsibility to halt the deployment of the new intermediate-range missiles and to eliminate those in place. Let us draw the maximum of conclusions from the Chernobyl accident which demonstrated that any European state is endangered if nuclear weapons are used and that Europe should not have any state with nuclear weapons on its territory, and it also demonstrated that measures must be taken to strengthen security and the operation of peaceful nuclear power plants in conditions of greatest of security.

We must see to it that the Stockholm Conference concludes this year with the best of results. We believe that on the basis of the proposals made so far it is possible and necessary to achieve a general accord that will ensure a strengthened security and cooperation in Europe. We also advocate the achievement, already this year, of an accord in Vienna on the reduction of troops and weapons in Central Europe. In this case, too, we proceed from the fact that the proposals made so far offer a positive basis -- if there is political will -- to achieve an appropriate accord.

We act to develop cooperation with all countries in the Balkans. We believe that we must do all we can to achieve an understanding on the elimination of nuclear weapons and on the non-deployment of chemical weapons in the Balkans, so that there will be neither nuclear, nor chemical weapons, and no foreign military bases in our area.

We also believe that we must intensify our activity aimed at halting the various military conflicts and at resolving disputes between states by negotiations alone. In this context, we believe that an international conference under UN aegis should be held as soon as possible to resolve the Middle East problem, with the participation of all states concerned, including the PLO.

We attach great importance to the problems of underdevelopment and achieving a new world economic order. Romania has proposed within the United Nations and other international economic bodies measures aimed at a global solution to the problems of foreign debts and of underdevelopment. I do not want to dwell on them now. Within this framework, I believe that we have to take action, with other countries, to organize an international conference within the United Nations with the participation of all states in order to solve these very serious economic problems and to achieve a new world economic order.

It is necessary for us to do all we can to enhance the role of the United Nations and of other international bodies in resolving the serious problems of the world. An important role is to be played by the Nonaligned Movement.

We believe that everything must be done to overcome certain differences between some nonaligned countries, so that the meeting in Zimbabwe this year will result in strengthened solidarity and an increased role of the nonaligned countries in resolving the complex problems in the international arena.

It is also necessary to strengthen cooperation and solidarity among the developing countries, the small and medium-sized countries, so that they will participate more actively in resolving the serious problems of the international situation.

There are many problems in the international arena. They can be solved only with the active participation, on a fully equal footing, of all states. We must strengthen even more the solidarity and cooperation with the progressive, anti-imperialist forces, and with the broad peoples' masses and peoples everywhere.

No matter how serious problems may be, if peoples act in greater unity, if they make the leadership of each country take into consideration the interests of peace and cooperation, then it will be possible -- and we are convinced of this -- to achieve a change in the trend of events and to impose a policy of disarmament, peace, and equal cooperation among all nations! (loud, prolonged applause)

Dear comrades, half of the first year of the 1986-90 5-year plan has passed. Our agenda is the 5-year plan and the programs up to 1990. I have referred to them. We achieved a number of positive results in the first half of this year. However, I must frankly state that we cannot be fully satisfied and that not all areas have taken very firm action to fulfill the plan optimally. It is necessary to take measures to fulfill the 1986 plan optimally -- the first year of the current 5-year plan -- and the additional provisions.

Once again I want to stress the need to pay particular attention to exports.

In agriculture we must harvest summer grains without any losses, we must carry out secondary crop sowing, and must carry out all crop-tending activity in order to ensure the highest possible agricultural yields this year.

All counties, all units must proceed very determinedly to working to fulfill all plans and the program!

Once again I want to stress that we have everything necessary available -- both this year and throughout the 5-year plan -- to fulfill appropriately the 13th Congress decisions, the 5-year plan, and the programs we have worked out. I am convinced that all party and state bodies, and all bodies of the workers revolutionary democracy will demonstrate, through their work and by taking very responsible action, that they are determined to be up to their responsibilities toward the party, the people, and toward the cause of socialism and communism. (loud applause)

I am also convinced that all working people and all our people will resolutely implement our plan and programs, and the 13th Congress decisions and party program aimed at building the comprehensively developed socialist society and advancing toward communism, which will ensure the elevation of our homeland to new heights of progress and civilization, an improvement in our people's well-being, and the strengthening of Romania's sovereignty and independence. (loud, prolonged applause, chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" In an atmosphere of great unity and revolutionary commitment, all participants in the plenum stand up and give long ovations to the RCP and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu)

Speaks at Session's End

AU281739 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Jun 86 p 1

[Text of speech given by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at the concluding session of the RCP Central Committee Plenum in Bucharest on 24 June]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: Our plenum broadly discussed the issues of Romania's socioeconomic development in the coming 5 years and up to the year 2000. Documents, which were the subject of the discussions on the agenda, were adopted unanimously.

During the discussions the concern of the party organizations and bodies and of the working people's collectives with appropriately fulfilling the new 5-year plan was strongly emphasized and the overall good results attained in the first 5 months of this year and the firm decision to most commendably act to unflinchingly implement the plans and programs for this year and the whole 5-year plan period have been dwelt upon.

The concern with fulfilling the program in agriculture was stressed and several good results attained this summer in barley yields and prospects for the wheat yields and generally for this year's harvest were presented.

In conclusion, I would like to mention again that facts and reality demonstrate that we have everything necessary to appropriately fulfill the plans and programs and that the development rate achieved in some enterprises and countries demonstrates the realistic character of our socioeconomic development plans. The barley yields attained also demonstrate the great possibilities we have. I believe that you will agree with me when I stress once again, in conclusion, that the role played by the party organizations, by people, and by agricultural cooperatists and workers -- when I speak of agriculture -- in implementing the programs and the new agrarian revolution is outstanding.

I would like to express great value for the party organization and working people in Olt County, which attained the greatest barley yield in the country. This yield is over 50 percent higher than the greatest yields attained by other countries. Thus, we do not speak of a 100 or 200 kilograms surplus but of an average of more than 2,000 kilograms per hectare more than in other countries. That is why I believe that our plenum should appreciate the activity of the working people, of peasantry, and of the party organization in Olt County and, at the same time, should call on all party organizations, cooperative workers, and agricultural workers to work in the same spirit. Everything attained by Olt County should have been attained -- even exceeded -- by other counties which have better soil and have 80 percent of the irrigated land. (loud applause).

Our plenum is held in a working spirit. Therefore, I would like to stress, in conclusion too, and to draw attention to the fact that in all fields we must draw the necessary conclusions from all the good things, and bad things as well, and work to ensure the unflinching implementation of the programs at the highest level.

For the results attained and in accordance with the legal provisions regarding the overall contract system, we decided that the working people in Olt County should receive, as a bonus, 200 kilograms of barley per hectare, which should be divided, half going to the cooperative members and half to the cooperatives for their activity. (loud, prolonged applause). It is within the power of all to attain such wheat and corn yields so as to fully benefit from the application of the legal provisions.

With the decisions we adopted in accordance with the 13th RCP Congress decisions, we embarked, as a matter of fact, on the implementation of the new stage of our homeland's development, which is decisive for the implementation of the party program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and the country's advance toward communism.

One could say our plenum marks the passage, with all the forces, to the implementation of the new scientific-technical revolution and of the new agrarian revolution. We must organize our activity in such way as to ensure in all fields of activity, the strong assertion of science and technology -- a decisive factor for our homeland's development and for the victory of communism in Romania! (loud applause).

At the same time, our plenum marks the passage to intensive development and to organizing all activity according to the principles of the workers' self-management and economic and financial self-administration.

We must act most resolutely to continuously perfect the management of all sectors and to increase the revolutionary responsibility of the party organizations and bodies, of the party cadres, of the communists, and of all the working people.

From the rostrum of the plenum of our Central Committee, I call on all the party organizations and communists to act in all circumstances in accordance with the revolutionary principles and to do everything possible to unite the efforts of all our people in implementing the 13th RCP Congress decisions and in raising our homeland to new peaks of progress and civilization!

From this plenum I call on all working people and on all our people not to spare any efforts and to do all they can to unflinchingly implement the plans and programs which ensure the raising of our homeland onto a higher development level, the strong increase of our people's general well-being, and the strengthening of Romania's independence and sovereignty! (loud applause).

We have to achieve a wonderful program that has great prospects. We must advance toward new heights, the peak of communist civilization. I repeat at this plenum again what I said at the congress. It will not be an easy road; it will not be a climb without obstacles. We must travel an unknown path. We must overcome many difficulties, and we must make great efforts to ensure the advance toward the high peaks of communism!

Nevertheless, we have a long experience which demonstrates that it lies within the power of our party and people to travel these new paths and advance toward the new peaks.

We have a sure guide -- the Romanian Communisty Party -- which honorably fulfills its historical mission of leading the political force of all our nation on the road of socialism and communism! (loud and prolonged applause).

The invincible principles of scientific socialism, the revolutionary concept about the world, and dialectical and historical materialism light our way. We have the party program, which represents our party's revolutionary concept about the world and life.

Let us unflinchingly follow and implement in all circumstances the communist principles of work and life! Let us be fully confident that by marching under the banner of the party and being led by the revolutionary concept, we will overcome any difficulties and will ensure the triumph of communism in Romania! (loud and prolonged applause).

I wish to express my most ardent thanks for the statements made here about my activity and for the homage paid by the Central Committee to the activity I have carried out in the past 50 years as a party member, serving the cause of socialism, the people, and their well-being and happiness.

I assure the party plenum and all our people that in the future, too, I will do all I can to make my contribution to the implementation of the great objectives we have; I will serve, under any circumstances, the interests of the people, of all our nation, and the cause of socialism and communism and of peace and international cooperation, and I will never spare any effort to ensure the implementation of the party program for the triumph of communism in Romania, for continuously strengthening the material and cultural power of our country, and for our homeland's independence and soverignty! (loud cheers and chants; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!").

Starting off on a new road of struggle and work, I believe that all our Central Committee must pledge solemnly to work for ensuring the implementation of all the programs of our homeland's development. We must do everything to ensure our people a dignified place among the nations of the world, a dignified place of complete freedom and independence in the comprehensively developed socialist society and communism. (loud and prolonged applause).

I wish ever greater successes in the activity of the party organizations and bodies, of the Central Committee members, of Communists, of all working people, and of all our people to most appropriately implement all the programs and plans!

Much health and happiness!

I declare the proceedings of the party Central Committee plenum closed! (loud cheers and chants; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP"; "Ceausescu and the People!"; "Ceausescu, Romania -- Our Esteem and Pride!". In an atmosphere of strong unity and enthusiasm, of ardent revolutionary engagement, all those present in the great hall of the plenum rise and cheer at length for the RCP and for its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.)

3D GNA SESSION RESUMES; AGENDA REPORTED

AU261041 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1034 GMT 26 Jun 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 26/6/1986 -- On Thursday, June 26, the third session of the Ninth Grand National Assembly resumed its work in plenum, in the presence of the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu.

The country's supreme legislative forum debates the following documents on the agenda:

1. The bill of the single economic and social development plan of the Socialist Republic of Romania over 1986-1990;

2. Bill of the agriculture and food industry development plan over 1986-1990;

3. Bills for the approval of the decrees including binding norms issued by the State Council after the Grand National Assembly's second session.

Romanian Premier Constantin Dascalescu read the memo of the bill at the first item on the agenda, and Ion Dinca, Romanian first deputy prime minister, read the memo of the bill at the second item.

Emil Bobu, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development of Romania read the Supreme Council's co-report on the two bills.

Session Ends; Laws Passed

AU271152 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1119 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 27/6/1986 -- The third session of the ninth term of the Grand National Assembly continued on June 27 in the presence of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Together with Nicolae Ceausescu were seated in the official stalls Elena Ceausescu, Constantin Dsscalescu, Iosif Banc, Emil Bobu, Virgil Cazacu, Lina Ciobanu, Nicolae Constantin, Ion Dinca, Miu Dobrescu, Luvodic Fazekas, Alexandrina Gainuse, Paul Niculescu, Constantin Olteanu, Gheorghe Oprea, Gheorghe Pana, Ion Patan, Dumitru Popescu, Gheorghe Radulescu.

After discussion by Articles, the Grand National Assembly endorsed unanimously by open vote the law on the single national plan of socio-economic development of the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1986-1990 and the law on the plan of development of agriculture and food industry in 1986-1990.

At the last item on the agenda, the deputies passed the laws endorsing the decrees comprising norms with power of law issued by the State Council after the second session of the Grand National Assembly.

Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly delivered the current session's closing address.

CEAUSESCU CABLES BULGARIA'S ZHIVKOV ON REELECTION

AU2021042 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Jun 86 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Sofia.

Esteemed Comrade Zhivkov: Your reelection as chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria affords me the pleasant opportunity to extend warm congratulations to you, together with best wishes for good health and happiness.

I also want to express the conviction that relations between the SR of Romania and the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to develop in the spirit of understandings agreed upon to the benefit of our peoples and countries of the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world.

I wish you fresh successes in your overall activity and in implementing the directives put forward at the 13th BCP Congress aimed at building the developed socialism in neighboring and friendly Bulgaria.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON 13TH LCY CONGRESS

Zarkovic Report

LD261900 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jun 86 pp 1-6

[Report "The LCY in the Struggle for the Further Development of Socialist, Self-Managing, and Nonaligned Yugoslavia" submitted by Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium to the 13th LCY Congress in Belgrade 25 June]

[Text] Delegates, esteemed guests, soon 45 years will have elapsed since the historic appeal by the Yugoslav Communist Party for an armed uprising on 6 July 1941 when the Communists led by Tito took responsibility for the future of Yugoslavia. With massive heroism and working endeavor, and with great effort, denial, and sacrifices, the working class and the nations and nationalities of our country, with the LCY as their ideological and political leader, during these 4 and 1/2 decades, radically changed the image of our country.

We won a magnificent victory and freed our country from fascist occupiers. We provided a firm basis for our new social system based on social ownership and socialist self-management. Yugoslavia has developed and become strong as a fraternal, socialist, self-management, federal community, which ensures full economic and political affirmation and national equality for its citizens and nations and nationalities. We strengthened the independence and the international position of our country. Yugoslavia has made a big contribution to the struggle for peace and international relations on an equal footing and has become one of the factors of stability in the world.

With our authentic revolution and the development of socialist self-managment, we opened up new prospects for the development of socialism and contributed to the building of relations of equal cooperation and solidarity among all progressive forces of the present-day world.

In the period between 1947 and 1986 Yugoslav social production increased by more than sevenfold, the volume of industrial production over 17 times, and the number of employees in the social sector by over 5 times. The development of education, health service, culture, and scientific creativity was expanded. A modern working class and creativity was expanded. A modern working class and scientific, technical, and creative intelligentsia have grown up in all the areas of material and cultural pursuits whose potential strength and opportunities are capable of bringing about a change in the direction of most up-to-date material progress and a further development of socialist self-management. Every area in our country experienced a material and cultural transformation. With a policy of boosting the development of the economically under developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo we attained significant results in enhancing the production forces and equalizing the economic foundations of our nations and nationalities.

We belong to a very small number of countries that established the policy of nonalignment and to whose affirmation and development we have provided a lasting and generally recognized contribution. During the past 25 years when it was first set up the nonaligned movement, despite the trials it has undergone, has asserted itself as an irreplaceable factor in the struggle for peace and international cooperation on an equal footing, and as a democratic and progressive force in world politics. By its activity in the Nonaligned Movement Yugoslavia has gained respect and a high reputation in the world.

All these and other results we attained in the wake of war devastation; under conditions of inherited economic and other kinds of backwardness, and strenuous opposition by supporters of the forces defeated during the revolution and by statist-bureaucratic and technocratic objections to new self-management processes; and against a background of very unfavorable international conditions. We have achieved this despite the many mistakes we made that led to the growth of unrealistic ambitions in development policy, too rapid and haphazard stratification of the rural areas, disruptions in the material structure of the economy, large-scale and irresponsible indebtedness abroad, irrational use of resources from our own and foreign sources, and expenditure over and above our realistic material possibilities.

This is why the LCY is coming to its 13th Congress not only with great achievements and good results, but with the burden of acute economic problems and social contradictions. We are facing development stagnation, weakening the unity of the Yugoslav community and the LCY; growth of deformates and deviations from proclaimed objectives; and violation of some social norms and values that we affirmed during the revolution. All this gradually paved the way to the present economic crisis and to a crisis situation in other areas of our social life.

The causes of our economic crisis were there well before the 12th LCY Congress. Because of the nonfulfillment of the essential objectives of the 1965 reform, subjectivism and voluntarian in the economic and development policy and economic development on the basis of nonlabor intensive economic operations all became widespread.

When abandoning the statist-centralist system we did not at the same time build and develop the system of self-management social planning. When abandoning the statist system of concentration and direction of the social accumulation resources we failed to develop the system of self-management concentration of these resources. This strengthened haphazard and autarkic interventions and deepened disproportions in the material structure of our economy. This was greatly contributed to by many years of irrational behavior in the agrarian and energy policy, uncoordinated general conditions of economic cooperations and the very slow rate of adaptation of our economic policy to the changes on the world market that were unfavorable to us.

The investment expansion in the 1976-80 period, accompanied by carefree and disorganized borrowing abroad and the failure to use the loans in a more efficient and rational manner -- in particular for the construction of those apacities which could have contributed to increased exports and foreign currency earnings -- are among the immediate causes of the crisis. All this resulted from the fact that the development of socio-economic relations proceeded along the path which deviated from the fundamental principles of the SFRY Constitution and the decisions of the 10th and 11th LCY Congresses. Instead of enhancing the power and influence of workers and working people, organized in associated labor on the basis of self-management, in the control of all the aspects of social reproduction, we have witnessed the strengthening of statism, of new forms of alienation of income from the working people and the weakening in the material basis of socialist self-management.

Instead of the integration of labor and resources on the basis of self-management and the interests of the workers and the working people, and instead of a stronger integration of all of the country's material and human potential, we have been witnessing mounting tendencies to group ownership, the destruction of unity of the Yugoslav market, the dangerous practice of insularity within the republican, provincial and even municipal boundaries, and divisions on the basis of nationality, culture and other factors.

The discrepancy between the set goals and practice occurred as a result of serious shortcomings in the work of the LCY and other subjective forces on realizing the constitutional concept of further development and improvement in the production relationship of socialist self-management. The processes of decentralization in the functions of the federation, outlined in the reform of the Constitution, have not been developing as the processes of the further de-statization aimed at achieving faster development of socialist self-management and strengthening the unity of the Yugoslav community. Instead they have been developing as the processes of consolidating decentralized statism which created new obstacles to the development of self-management and led to further weakening in the cohesion and unity of the country and its economy.

Many of the economic and systemic solutions and the measures of the development and economic policy introduced after the constitutional reform stimulated the process of territorialisation and insularity instead of motivating workers in basic and other organizations of associated labor to perform efficiencly and rationally their social function of controling the means of and trends in social reproduction. This was conducive to the strengthening of group-ownership tendencies in organizations of associated labor, their autarkic development, alienation of the self-managing rights from the workers self-management duties and responsibilities and to major shortcomings in the system of distribution etc.

On the other hand, the LCY and other subjective forces failed to invest constant and resolute efforts to develop socialist self-management as an integral form of social relationship and as a system of freely associated labor. They were not determined enough in their struggle for the development of socio-economic relations of the socialist self-management at all levels of work and production -- from the basic organization of associated labor and work and composite organizations to the provinces, republics and the federation. Only a part of the decisions in the sphere of the control of general social reproduction is being passed directly by organizations of associated labor. The majority of the decisions, particularly those concerning the most important economic and other issues of overall social reproduction are, as a matter of fact, being made at the level of society as a whole.

The workers and working people are not integrated and organized on the basis of self-management in a manner which would make them capable of taking on the responsibility for the issues of this kind and removing the statist-bureaucratic forces from that sphere and prevent anarchy.

In this way ground is inevitably ceded to bureaucratic statism. This statism appears as a real force which makes decisions about overall questions of general social reproduction and arbitrates in conflicts of interests in society. Under these conditions, the very workers in associated labor, without links of income interests and under the threat of even more spontaneity, in many respects frequently succumb to the patronage of the bureaucracy.

Statist bureaucratism can, and must, be destroyed only through the energy of the working class, which is liberating itself and advancing, by means of the processes of self-managing association of labor and free organization on a self-managing basis, in the unified Yugoslav economic area and under conditions in which a unified Yugoslav market is operating. In the face of such a force, the possibilities for alienating income and power from workers and working people organized in self-management are diminishing.

Bureaucratic-statist forces have therefore resisted these processes, and hamper them wherever they can, making use in so doing of all sorts of ideological sops, and most often spreading the fear that such processes will threaten national interests and reinforce unitarism.

Bureaucratic statism has opened the way to increased voluntarism in economic and development policy, to fragmentation of economic policy, to isolationism of socio-political communities and to clashes between these, and to divisions in the market and in the working class itself.

This has, of course, weakened the country's unity and the material basis of socialist self-management, as well as workers motivation toward greater and better output and labor productivity. All this has inevitably led to stagnation in the economic and social development of Yugoslavia and of all our republics and provinces, and to a deepening of the economic crisis and critical state of society.

The LCY has failed to conduct a timely struggle in the proper manner against tendencies which have led to the crisis, and which are in most profound contradiction to the processes of revolutionary transformation of Yugoslav society, on the basis of socialist self-management. It failed at the beginning to encourage and direct the workers class and the working people to grapple with them, so that they may in good time eliminate the socioeconomic bases upon which etastism breeds, and to remove the hotbeds of the crisis.

And it has itself long been fettered by vascillations, lack of unity and by liberalist illusions that the system would of itself prevent such tendencies and halt unfavorable economic and social trends. This belief in the spontaneous operation of the system rests upon making that system absolute, which comes about whenever it is forgotten that the revolutionary transformation of society does not rest upon the system alone, but upon the constant struggle of the organized forces of socialist consciousness for that system itself and its dynamic and efficient operation, and for the respect and enrichment of the achievements and values of the revolution.

Many organizations of the League of Communists have identified themselves with special interests, and their leaderships, together with state organs -- that is of socio-political communities, and the managerial organs of organizations of associated labor -- have often been protagonists of statist-technocratic tendencies. Bureaucratic-statist, particularist-egoist, group-property and nationalistic tendencies in society have also gnawed at the LCY, weakening its ideological unity and its unity of action. LCY organizations, burdened by such weaknesses, will not be capable of being a factor integration if they continue in this manner, but on the contrary will be a factor of disintegration. They will not be capable of mobilizing the working class and working people in the struggle against statism and bureaucratism, for they are themselves part of statist structures and protagonists of etatist attitudes.

In parallel with the manifestations of the economic crisis and the critical state of affairs in society, retrograde processes are becoming stronger in the ideological sphere, in which attempts to secure a renewal of elements of state socialism and elements of private-property bourgeois society are intertwined.

Manifestations are becoming increasingly evident of antisocialist trends and ideologies which, taking advantage of the difficulties confronting society, stubbornly try to compromise the LCY and the system of socialist self-management, in order to imbue the people with ideo-political confusion and defeatism. Under the influence of powerful rightwing propaganda in the world and the difficulties we are bearing, those who not only deny the results of our working class and working people, but also attempt to bring into doubt the historical justification of socialism itself, of social property and of socialist self-management are rearing their heads.

They are helped by pragmatism, militarism, ideological sluggishness and insufficient ideo-political unity among our ranks. On the basis of the disintegrated economy, science, and other areas of human creativity not connected with the principles of self-management, on the basis of strong group and property tendencies, breed and grow petit-bourgeois egosim, a consumer psychology and increasingly cruder attacks on social property. Such trends in society have resulted in a situation whereby in the League of Communists itself there can be felt characteristics of those ideological and theoretical beliefs which are based on the ideology of statist bureaucratism or bourgeois liberalism. Adherents of such beliefs accuse the system of socialist self-management of being the main reason for the crisis situation, although, the opposite is true.

They key problem is that the system is developing slowly and is being implemented inconsistently. Unfavorable international circumstances have also considerably contributed to the growth of economic crisis in our society. The existing economic order has made the division of the world into rich and poor even more pronounced. Billions of people live below the line of absolute poverty while tens of millions die of starvation every year. Developed countries are increasingly using protectionist measures and closing their markets to the products of underdeveloped countries, to which end they frequently use economic sanctions, embargoes, blockades, trade restrictions, and other similar means of economic and political coercion.

The consequences of this state of international relations have become destructive to the economy and population of developing countries. From 1980-85 the prices of raw materials, which are the main exports of developing countries, fell considerably. In the same period interest rates were increased by several points. For most of the debtor countries debts have become an unbearable burden. As a consequence of all this, the per capita income in developing countries today is lower than what it was in 1980. Our economy, too, has suffered great damage as a result of unjust international economic relations and the protectionist conditions of commodity exchange in the world market. We have, except in rare cases, been severely hit by the drop in prices of raw materials, as well as the continuing increases in the prices of the products demanding high degree of technological processing.

A further aggravation of relations between import and export prices has been caused which, I wish to recall, has lasted for a long time. Our economic policy is adjusting itself too slowly to changes in the world market, we have organized ourselves too slowly with the aim of defending and protecting ourselves from such trends and blows.

Also the contemporary world is characterized by the new scientific and technological revolution which creates new challenges for our country, too. In this aspect, too, we are increasingly lagging behind. In many ways we are on the fringes of this revolution. Consequences will be even more severe unless we become capable as soon as possible of answering its challenges and thereby decreasing dependence on importing licences in the way we have been doing so far. In all this, the most difficult things is that we lack a unified strategy of technological development and we have not organized ourselves as yet to make radical U-turns in this area.

From the report of the LCY Central Committee it cvan be seen that the LCY, in the period between the 12th and 13th Congresses when the economic crisis and the crisis situation in society reached their culminating point, shed critical and self-critical light on this situation, its main causes and the ways of solving the crisis. This period between the two congresses was the period of maturing awareness of the crisis and great dangers which it brings. Enormous efforts have been invested in developing and strengthening ideological and actional unity of ther LCY on a democratic basis, as the most important prerequisite for overcoming the crisis situation in society, and developing the widest possible activity in the struggle for economic and political stability and further development of our country on the basis of socialist self-management. In this period the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization was adopted, as a program for solving the crisis. The "Critical Analysis of the Functioning of Political system" was prepared. New social plans and programs of development were adopted. The LCY Central Committee, the republican LC central committees and the provincial LC committees increased their activities and confirmed ideopolitical stands on many unsolved questions which burdened our society and weakened the ideological and actional unity of the LCY.

After the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee, the all-party discussion was organized. It took part in the atmosphere of an open critical analysis of internal weaknesses and omissions. Severe criticism was in particular addressed to the leaderships of the LCY.

In the context of all this a firm belief has been voiced in the program orientation of the LCY and its strength and ability to overcome its own weaknesses and mobilize the social forces with the aim of extricating ourselves from the difficulties. The criticism has had a mobilizing effect; it has yielded much specific knowledge and many proposals about what should be done and how. It has also initiated many specific actions. The preparations for this congress, the congresses of the LC of the republics and the conferences of the LC of the provinces as well as the conference of the LC Organizatons in the Yugoslav People's Army have taken place in the same spirit.

Thanks precisely to such activity of the LC and of other organized socialist forces in society as well as to the unswerving trust of the working class and working people in the program orientations and strategic aims of the LCY, individual strongly manifest problems and contradictions in our society have not, in the period under review, assumed dimensions which would have much graver political, social and economic consequences. Some have even been overcome or controlled. With its ideo-political activity, the LC has made a decisive contribution to the aim of seeking and finding a way out of all our difficulties along the course of the socialist self-managing development of our society and greater activity and responsibility of its legitimate institutions.

A certain economic growth has been achieved, even if unsteady and not extensive, although tendencies to stagnation and lagging behind have not yet been overcome. A considerable number of new jobs have ben provided; however this was not enough to halt the increase in unemployment. The coverage of imports by exports has been increased and a surplus in the balance of payments achieved. This has made it possible to improve the supply of the market with raw material, reproduction material, and some consumer goods and to preserve the country's foreign liquidity. Initial results have been achieved in the application of the more realistic economic criteria in the economic life and investment policy.

All this has contributed to strengthening our consciousness that we can overcome our great difficulties and ensure successful development only through the maximum reliance on our own forces and better work and work of greater quality. It could be said that we have begun to a significant extent to realign and strengthen our ranks in the struggle aimed at extricating ourselves from crisis situations. However, even despite the initial encouraging results, we have not eliminated the great threats with which the economic crisis oppresses our community. Efforts in this direction have not been the same everywhere. There was considerable tardiness, hesitation, and superficial activity in implementing the stances adopted. The LCY membership has, in its all-party debate, manifested great energy and resolve in its demands for more radical changes; it has manifested its ability and its readiness to participate actively in this, and to bear its part of the responsibility. But this energy and this resolve have not yet fully been translated into relevant social action.

The successful realization of the long-term economic stabilization program implies and imperatively calls for greater unity, more resolute and swifter realignment at all levels of social organizing activity, and more responsible economic behavior and a broader practical action in mobilizing and activating all our society's potentials. Internal weaknesses, inconsistencies and shortcomings of our political system, which reduce its efficiency and which make the more successful realization of the long-term economic stabilization program more difficult, should also be eliminated more boldly and more swiftly. It is due to great tardiness, indecisiveness and lack of unity in implementing the long-term economic stabilization program that some economic problems, and thus also socio-political problems, manifest themselves today in a more severe form than at the time this program was adopted. These are, among other things, alienation of a large part of the income from those who create it, along with the intensified influence exerted by various informal groups and noninstitutional factors on the social trends; spiraling of inflation; fall in the standard of living of the poorest strata of society; increase in losses and thus also great difficulties in current reproduction; division into social strata by bypassing the criteria of distribution according to work.

In conditions when the long-term program is not implemented on time, implemented only partially, disjointedly, and inconsistently, some indispensable measures of the economic policy too, such as the realistic interest rates and realistic exchange rate of the dinar, brought results contrary to those hoped for, in particular regarding the rise of inflation, impoverishment of the material aspects of self-management in many branches of the economy, and division into social strata.

There is still much hesitation as regards the role and the significance of commodity production and its laws in the struggle for the economic stabilization and the development of socialist self-management. We still have not made decisive changes in the direction of the fuller use of existing capacities and working time, speedier application of scientific achievements and a more efficient participation in the international division of labor.

It is unacceptable that in this difficult socio-economic situation there is an irrational and dogmatic attitude to agriculture, tourism, and small-scale business, in the rapid development of which there are great reserves and possibilities for overcoming the crisis. Today the most important task of society and of all subjective forces led by the LCY is: The greater mobilization of the working class, working people, and all progressive forces in our society so that we can overcome more rapidly the crisis and open up the prospect for the further, dynamic and stable economic and social development of our country. It is expected and required of the LC that it shed yet more light on the concrete roads which lead to the development of even more decisive actions to remove everything which stands in the way of progress and extend the horizons and areas of man's freedoms and creativity.

The LCY Central Committee, in the documents submitted to the 13th Congress, indicates that a way out of this situation must be sought in the more intensive development of socialist self-management as an integral socioeconomic relationship; the more determined abolition of socioeconomic bases of statism; bureaucratic arbitrariness and encapsulation; the more rapid change from extensive to intensive methods of economic operations; the increased strengthening of the unity of the Yugoslav community on the bases of socialist self-management and full national equality.

This has already been unanimously confirmed by the LC congresses of all the republics and the LC conferences of the provinces and also by the Conference of the LC Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army. This has also been confirmed by the congresses and conferences of all our sociopolitical organizations. It has also been confirmed by working people and citizens at numerous pre-election gatherings, at which, as they did in the elections, they participated in large numbers. At the congresses and conferences of the LC, the trade unions, the veterans organization and of youth, the demand has been strongly made for the strengthening of the unity of the LCY and the country as a whole. But we all know quite well, that this unity can only be strengthened by revolutionary action, which constantly gives an impetus to the development of social relations in the direction of communist society.

It is the task of the 13th Congress -- by assessing in a united way the causes of the crisis and in particular by answering the question of where to go from here -- to make a strong contribution to the ideological unity of the LCY and thereby stimulate its revolutionary action. This is the most important political condition for a way out of the crisis. This is the most important political condition for a way out of the crisis and for the further successful transformation of our society.

Our 13th Congress should be a congress of the strengthening of socialist self-management, a congress of the strengthening of the unity of the country and the LCY. In the struggle against growing statism, it should be a congress of action and harmony of words and actions. With the force and the clarity of its stances and orientations. The 13th Congress should open up the prospects for a gradual but consistent and certain realization of the domination of workers in associated labor over the currents of social reproduction and the political functions of society and initiate uncompromising and effective action to overcome all the obstacles which block the more dynamic development of socialist self-management. It should contribute to the concrete elaboration of an action program which working people will accept and implement as their own practice of liberation and association of labor and, on this basis, of expanding their own and social freedoms. This practice should engender concrete answers to the question of maximally restricting the space for the realization of the intermediary role between the working individual and the results of his work on the part of those political and social factors, which build their privileged position on the basis of estranged income in opposition to socialist self-management and the true authority of the working class.

The congress is expected to reaffirm the basic orientations of the long-term economic stabilization probram and to contribute to a higher level of activity and responsibility for its faster, more consistent implementation and in so doing to open up the prospect of a more dynamic economic development, of halting the decline in the standard of living, and of reducing the social differences to a measure stemming from the application of the principle of distribution of income in accordance with the results of the work that had been done.

For this kind of result and success the 13th LCY Congress has a reliable support in the LCY program and in the 1974 Constition, in the decisions of the recent congresses, and in the clear long-term vision of the self-management socialist development of our country, which we created together with Tito, Kardelj, and other great men of our revolution. Resisting every attempt to abandon this vision the LCY is obliged at its 13th Congress to make its contribution to an in-depth and critical analysis of the function of our economic and political system and of the activity of all the factors in it, especially of its own activity, with a view to overcoming the crisis faster, sounder economic and social development of our country, and consolidation of the international reputation and influence of the LCY and of the SFRY.

The most important task of the 13th Congress concerns its stands and decisions to help our working class to appear -- in deeds and not in words -- more forcefully on the scene of our socioeconomic and political life and to ensure that socialist self-management is made stronger and to make it work in practice more efficiently, providing increasingly good results in our material and social development. In our specific situation this means first and foremost that production relations and the political system of socialist self-management, by being further developed and strengthened, must encourage a faster self-management integration of our society and secure more efficient decision-making, a more rational and intensive use of social resources, and faster application of scientific-technological achievements. All the forms and tendencies of usurpation of social property in a private-ownership, group-ownership, or state-ownership manner must be eliminated faster.

In order to bring this about the LC must pay paramount attention to the development and consolidation of self-management by the workers in the basic organizations of associated labor. The substance of their constitutional concept as the condition to directly acquire self-management rights, and of the workers' commitments and responsibilities in controlling social resources, must be implemented more consistently because that is the basis for the implementation of the delegate system and of the authority of the workers in our society as a whole. If basic organizations of associated labor are not a point of departure for the necessary self-management organization and self-management integration of associated labor of our society, they also cannot be the main fulcrum of the decisive role of the workers and of the working people in all the currents of social reproduction and protagonists of modern production.

The LCY will press hard to see to it that the improvement of our system will ensure and help the basic organizations of associated labor -- as part of a work organization -- to develop as sound economic factors and as commodity producers. Our system of socio-economic relations should motivate the workers in them so that in order to make economic operations involving social resources more efficient and more rational, through their work organizations they could merge into wider labor associations. They would thereby continue to increase their labor productivity and revenue; be more interested in extended reproduction and application of modern equipment and technology; use accumulation funds as rationally as possible and attain their self-management concentration in the interests of acquiring a higher level of revenue; ensure a growth in the standard of living and of all aspects of expenditure in keeping with the results of work; and accept economic and any other type of responsibility for the quality of their self-management decisions. Promotion of the system and the action of subjective forces should prevent any losses and mistakes which are a consequence of poor work and of autarkic group-ownership behavior and decision-making from being made good at the expense of our community.

In the conditions of the development and building of such socio-economic relations, it will become increasingly clear that the substance of the self-management by the workers in the basic, work, and other organizations of associated labor cannot be attained through autarky and group-ownership conduct because these tendencies run counter to the essence of social property and socialist self-management and the requirements of the present-day development of production forces. They undermine the future of the associated labor organizations and of self-management as a whole. In these conditions the pooling of labor and resources, the promotion of the system of social planning, the concern for the implementation of self-management commitments and responsibilities and for the reduction of unwieldy administration in work organizations and in our society as a whole will increasingly become an existential requirement of the workers. In these conditions the workers will develop and strengthen the work organizations as market factors and integral-plan development entities that will play a bigger role in planning the development and in economic relations with foreign countries and will strive to develop other forms of self-management association and organization.

Self-managing integration, if it is based on the real interests of the working cass and working people, does not decrease the freedom and independence of the subjects of this integration in the effective use of their self-managing rights, rather, it strengthens their joint power. The independence of self-managing organizations and communities, when it operates in the function of realizing the essence of social property and self-management, is the factor of progress; but when it becomes the force and support of autarchy and defends group property and egoistic interests, it becomes its brake. In our present situation, characterized by the strongly prominent tendencies of the autarchy of self-managing organizations and socio-political communities, of crucial significance for the system itself for the cohesion and firmmess of the Yugoslav community, and for our economic and social progress to continue to develop the self-managing socioeconomic relations and thereby to strengthen the intergrational functions of socialist self-management, and the mutual ties, obligations, and responsibilities of parts and the whole, beginning with the basic organization of associated labor through work and composite organizations and other self-managing associations to the provinces, republics, and the federation.

Such a course of developing socialist self-management is imperatively demanded by the modern scientific and technological revolution. The disintegration of the Yugoslav economy, its autarchic development, and the economic parceling of its parts in modern conditions increasingly present an obstacle to the development of production forces and thereby also become a cause of Yugoslavia's economic lagging behind. Maintaining such a situation would not only slow down the development of socialist self-management but would also lead to its discreditation. Socialist self-management, if it is developing consistently in the real interests of the working class and working people, will strengthen the political, cultural, and economic ties of peoples and nationalities and the unity of Yugoslavia. It will contribute to national equality and the fuller utilization of all the advantages of our unity for the speedier and more successful economic and social development of the country a a whole and all the republics and provinces individually. Socialist self-management and the increasingly stronger self-managing integration of Yugoslav society, which is based on pooling labor and resources, are the main condition for strengthening freedom, independence, equality, and finally, for a happier future for each of our peoples and nationalities and every individual. It is the historical interest of the working class and thereby the real national interest of the widest working strata in each of our nations and nationalities to strengthen our unity.

Starting from this, in the next period the LC will make more resolute efforts to create conditions for a speedier self-managing integration of the Yugoslav economy and society. With its activity, the LC will eliminate bureaucratic obstacles to these processes, will cut the roots of autarchic and isolationist tendencies, and stimulate the development of the system of self-management organization of the worker, according to the logic of his production and reproduction linking, and on the line of the further development of the delegate system. Such development of socialist self-management cannot be realized without a more complete utilization of numerous advantages offered by the delegate system to include the widest possible circle of working people and citizens in the process of making and implementing all decisions in this society. In this aspect today, we are insufficiently utilizing the advantages of the delegate system.

We are far from realizing its essence. The essence is that through delegations, their linking, the participation of workers and working people in making decisions at all levels in managing the economy and other social tasks should be ensure. Neither the method nor the content of work of the LC, Social Alliance, and other sociopolitical organizations are adjusted for realizing the essence of the delegate system. That is why the self-managing integrational essence of the chambers of associated labor is not being realized in accordance with constitutional orientations nor the self-managing essence of self-managing communities of interest. In many ways, the delegate system is formalized. Its revolutionary form is often filled with conservative, etatist, and bureaucratic relations and contents. The LC is dupty-bond, by following the class objectives of society and its own revolutionary orientations, to increase its efforts in the direction of a more consistent realization of the constitutional concept of the delegate system and the staturory principles of the ways of communist activity in this system.

Without the delegate decisionmaking process, as the essence of the delegate system, there can be no socialist democracy, or ruling position of the workers in society, or destruction of technocratism and bureaucratism. Our practice so far has demonstrated that for the efficient implementation of the essence of the delegate system it is of crucial significance that there be day-by-day concrete political work by the organizations of the LC, the Socialist Alliance, the trade unions, veterans and youth at the grass roots of society and in the institutions of this system.

The role of the Socialist Alliance, as the front of the organized democratic forces and the political basis of socialist democracy is irreplaceable in the proces of delegate decisionmaking. The duty of the Communists is to fight for such a work and development of the Socialist Alliance as will ensure that our political life is richer and that it encompasses the masses; so that through democratic creative criticism better solutions are constantly sought and found and that everything which is backward and weak is overcome more swiftly; so that the policy and practice which curtail initiatives, restrict self-managing decisionmaking and fetter man as the producer and creator be prevented.

The LC is consistent in its orientation that no single essential issue, on which the further development of our society depends, can be successfully resolved without the involvement, knowledge and revolutionary enthusiasm of the young through our political and delegate system. By operating through self-management organs, the delegate system, the Socialist Alliance and other socio-political organizations, the LCY should be the most significant political organizations, the LCY should be the most significant political cohesive force in society. It can be such a force only by constantly elucidating, on every concrete situation, the course leading to the strengthening of the social position of the working class and the working people in the system of increasingly developed socialist democracy and fighting decisively and unswervingly for qualitative solutions that are in accord with this.

The successful functioning of the delegate system implies the public nature of work and objective briefing of the working people and citizens, self-management organs, delegations and delegates on all society trends. It is indispensable, therefore, that all all the levels of social organizing and activity such a social information system be built which will be able to provide timely and complete information to all the participants in the delegate decisionmaking process on all relevant social issues.

The LC must resolutely oppose all forms of isolationism and various manipulations through the information system, in particular in cases when the selfish and narrow interests are camouflaged as being social ones.

In view of the great significance of the public word, the socialist subjective forces must, through self-managing and political action, create space for responsible social criticism and objective information which will contribute to the development of self-managing relations and the overcoming of statist-bureaucratic and petit-bourgeois liberalist deformations. What we need is a realistic picture of our class-oriented critical thought.

The role of the state and of its organs has in recent years been moving away from the LC attitudes formulated in the LCY program and resolutions of earlier LC congresses as well as in constitutional provisions. The role of the state and its regulative function has been expanding deliberately and spontaenously extending to the currents preventing the role of the working class in associated labor, as established by the Constitution, from being realized. At the same time, the responsibility and efficiency of the state organs in the spheres of social life where their role is irreplaceable has weakened. These are the spheres of social records and control, of inspection services, and, most important, of ensuring respect for constitutionality, legality, and strict implementation of the laws and decisions of relevant bodies and organs.

Such a situation must be altered urgently because it fetters socialist self-management and gives rise to insecurity and justified disatisfaction among the working people and citizens. The working people rightly expect the LC to embark on a resolute struggle against bureaucratic arbitrariness and against such actions by individuals in state organs as are in strong contradiction to the moral and legal norms of our society. All cases of lack of responsibility, bribe and corruption, connections and favoritism should be resolutely and publicly condemned.

This congress should call for improvement in the work of and for a greater degree of responsibility of the executive, administrative, judicary, inspection and other states organs. It also should insist on systematic, politically responsible control over the work of these organs and all those working in them.

In recent years, we have countered many problems in the efforts to realize the constitutional concept of the Yugoslav Federaton. These problems have manifested themselves in a very slow pace in the harmonizing of common interests in economic and development policies and the development of the economic and political system; in the weakening of the unity of the Yugoslav market; and in the increasingly frequent cases of the failure to apply and adhere to federal laws.

All this has led to serious difficulties in the functioning of the federation, weakened the system's efficiency, in general, and the unity and strengthen of the Yugoslav community in particular. These developments are causing increasing concern and dissatifaction among the working people and citizens and among all of our nations and nationalities. They provide a fertile ground for spreading ideological confusion about the character of the Yugoslav federation and for distorting the LCY's viewpoints in regard to this major issue.

The LCY Central Committee has extensively examined the set of problems relating to the realization of the constitutional concept of the Yugoslav federation and adopted its ideopolitical stance containing the assessments of the situation and the directions for the necessary social action designed to speed up a more consistent realization of the concept. The stances were fully supported by communists and working people during the preparations for the LC congresses and conferences of the republics and provinces, and for the 13th LCY Congress.

They are more completely elaborated in the proposed resolution, and conferences.

In its efforts to develop the Yugolsav federation, the LCY always has proceeded consistently from the principle that solutions must be constantly found which would create conditions for as high a degree as possible of national freedom, equality, and unity on the basis of the liberation of work and the development of socialist self-managment. The Yugoslav federation was not created as a result of compromises between political structures and agreements between national leaders; neither is it a creation of external factors. It was created out of the flame of the national liberation struggle and socialist revolution as a reflection of the aspirations of all the Yugoslav nations and nationalities. It can therefore develop successfully only on the basis of those factors on which it was created, such as on the strengthening of national equality and the working class' power.

The lull and difficulties in the development of self-managment and the intensified tendencies toward etatism have resulted in difficulties and confusion in realizing the constitutional concept of our federation. Because polycentric etatism and bureaucratism continue to gain ground, the integration of labor and resources for the most part has been limited within the republican and provincial boundaries. The republican and provincial economies have been developing as closed economic structures, thus destroying the organic unity of the economy on the integral Yugoslav economic area and market. The responsibilty of the republics and provinces for Yugoslavia's development has weakened and the progress in recognizing and coordinating common interests has slowed down and become more difficult.

The coordination of special interests accompanied by political pressures and bargaining, by disregard for the interests of others and, by relation, for common interests as well, and by reckless accusations; unitarist, or separatist behavior, depending on the acquired political position, are manifestations of the conflict between various etatist centers of power, which make decisions "on behalf" of the working class and strive to present themselves as the sole true proponents and guardians of national interests.

As long as the workers and working people organized on the basis of self-management are not given the opportunity to be the champions of both class and national interest, in other words, as long as neither class nor national interests are manifested as the unique interests of the workers and the working people, there will be scope for dividing and even opposing these interests either from the positions of separatist nationalism or the positions of dogmatic centralist ideology of state bureaucratism.

These manifestations and negative tendencies in the realization of the concept of the Yugoslav federation will be overcome to the extent which workers, organized on the basis of self-management and not the republican, provincial, or federal buruaucracy are the champions of the interests of the Yugoslav people, and to the extent to which the Yugoslav economy succeeds in becoming integrated on the basis of self-managment and Yugoslavia develops in accordance with the Constitution as a self-managed sociopolitical community of working people and citizens.

The solution for overcoming tendencies and the practice of clashing withing polycentric etatisms should not be sought in strengthening federal etatist centralism, but in developing socialist self-management; in consistently realizing the constitutional position of workers in associated labor; in developing socioeconomic relations and the political system, which will enable workers and working people in associated labor to exert a decisive influence upon decisionmaking in the assemblies of all sociopolitical communities, including the SFRY Assembly.

The LC will vigorously oppose all tendencies which ignore the fact that Yugoslavia is a multinational community of equal nations and nationalities in which the republics and provinces have an irreplaceable role according to the Constitution. It also will oppose all those who lose sight of the fact that the constant strengthening of Yugoslavia's unity and the effective operation of the federation's organs is the common interest of all our nations and nationalities and of every working man.

The standpoints of the LCY Central Committee on strengthening unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia basically have helped to eliminate the problems which had accumulated and to realize more successfully the constitutional concept of the SR of Serbia, the socialist autonomous provinces and our federation, in addition to helping to strengthen the unity of the Serbian LC and the LCY. Communists and all working people in the SR of Serbia, the socialist autonomous provinces, and Yugoslavia as a whole demand that activity relating to implementation of these standpoints should be continued more consistently and decisively.

Taking as the point of departure the assessment that we are indeed seriously lagging behind in implementing the standpoints of the 11th LCY Congress on the development of the political system and on the great divergence between the political system laid down in the Constitution and what actually happens in practice, in the intercongress period the LC initiated the critical analysis of the functioning of the political system.

Work on this analysis and the public debate on it have helped overcome many differences and disputes. Agreement on many important issues relating to the functioning and further development of the political system has been reached, and there has been great unanimity in evaluating that such criticism, analysis, and monitoring of the functioning of the political system is an ongoing and long-term process of the creative search for scope and ways to eliminate statism, free labor, and build up associations of free producers.

It is essential that all those changes in self-managing and legal institutional norms and in the conduct of subjects of the system which were pointed out in the Critical Analysis and public debate be implemented as soon as possible. After a well-argued debate, a stand must be taken up in the competent organs on those specific issues and proposals upon which various proposals were put forward during the public debate. Of course, this relates to those proposals which aim to more successfully develop the system on the basis of socialist self-management and full national equality.

In the future, having learned from the negative experience in the development of the political system, we must be more critical of our own practices in order to realize more successfully our strategic goals in developing socialist self-management. The LCY is responsible not only for the historical meaning of the ideological orientations it puts forward, but also for the development of the political and economic system, and the institutions and relations which these orientations are to effect. This makes it incumbent upon the LCY, from its position of who must see more and further, to make a critical evaluation of where society is heading and how it is doing so, and whether the existing systemic and other solutions correspond to the long-term interests and requirements of the working class.

The class liberation essence of self-management could not be realized if it were deprived of the efforts of its sociopolitical protagonists which aim to create new and more highly developed, democratic, and humane relations by changing the existing solutions.

In the period between the two congresses, the LCY, the Serbian LC and the Kosovo LC, and all other organized socialist forces exerted great efforts -- through not always enough effort -- toward stabilizing state and political conditions in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and toward the consequences of the counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian nationalists and irredentists. The political and security situation in Kosovo is, thanks to this, better today. Nevertheless, many tasks from the political platform for the LCY actions in the development of socialist self-management and brotherhood, unity, and togetherness in Kosovo have not been fully and satisfactorily carried out. Above all, the sources from which Albanian nationalism and irredentism find their inspiration have not been eliminated, nor has the destructive activity of the irredentists been fully prevented.

Not enough has been done to eliminate everything that leads to the indoctrination of young people in Kosovo into Albanian separatist nationalism and irredentism. The process of ideopolitical differentiation within the ranks of the LC and other socialist forces in Kosovo was started but has not been completed. There are also shortcomings in establishing action unity in the LC of Serbia and of the LC of Kosovo and the LCY in implementing the tasks arising from the political platform. The fact that there recently has been a resurgence there of Serbian, Montenegrin, and other kinds of nationalism, which render the battle for the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo difficult, makes it incumbent on the LC to commit itself to a most resolute and consistent ideopolitical action wherever these forms of nationalism appear. This has been responsible and continues to be responsible for some adverse developments in this province of ours.

We have not been able to stabilize the violated intranational relations and restore confidence in the principles of equality, brotherhood, and unity and the awareness of our vital unity. There is continued nationalistic pressure on the Serbian and Montenegrin population causing them to emigrate from Kosovo. For this reason the inconsistencies and shortcomings in the implementation of the tasks established in the political platform must be eliminated quickly. The LC of Kosovo has the big commitment -- and the same applies to the LC of Serbia and to the LCY as a whole -- to defeat the irredentists as soon as possible and to overcome the consequences of their destructive activity and secure the necessary political stability in the province and, in so doing, in the SR of Serbvia and in Yugoslavia as a whole as well. The LCY must mobilize much more resolutely all the social forces in Kosovo, in the SR of Servia, and in Yugoslavia to preavent any emigration under duress and to establish conditions favorable for the return of those who left. The paramount and urgent task of all organized socialist forces and of state organs in Kosovo is to ensure consistent respect of the constitutional rights and freedoms of our working people and citizens, applicable in the same way and on an equal footing to the members of all nationalities. The essential condition to achieve this it to intensify efforts and make it possible for the institutions of the political system in Kosovo, to strengthen their authority and the confidence in them because it is their duty to resolve the problems of human and intranational relations that arise in Kosovo.

We require concrete and organized action to boost political stability in Kosovo, replacing the formalist establishment of platforms and repetition of conclusions and appeals. As before, our community and the SR of Serbia will help hasten economic development and the overall self-management transformation of Kosovo because that is one of the essential conditions of the equality of the nations and nationalities and of more stable economic and overall social development of the Province of Kosovo.

In the world in which we live, further promotion of the all people's defense and social self-protection system is of special importance for our community and for the LCY.

Our defense concept stems from our self-management system and from the involvement of all the factors of our society in the defense of freedom, sovereignty, and achievements of our revolution. In keeping with this concept, during this period between the two congresses, we were once again able, despite many difficulties experienced by our country, mainly financial, to achieve major results in consolidating the defense strength of our society. Significant results were attained both in enriching the concept and the doctrine of all-people's defense and of social self-protection, and in the development of our defense protection system and in intensifying the building of the SFRY Armed Forces. Our country's defense and self-protection depends on the overall internal situation; on our economic, political, and social stability; on our ability to eliminate delays, shortcomings, and crises in our internal relations and in the development of self-management. This is why we link our constant concern for the development of the all-people's defense and social self-protection system with out efforts to extricate ourselves from our difficulties and our efforts to bring about further socialist, and self-management development of our society.

The Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] performs multiple functions in our defense and self-protection system. They are laid down by our Constitution. The YPA is a joint force of all our nations and nationalities and, with our territorial defense, the backbone of our all-people's defense system. The LC Organization in the YPA makes a significant contribution to the implementation of our Army's functions, and in so doing, contributes to the consolidation of our defense system as a whole. We must resolutely resist the attempts, under the pretext of the struggle against militarization and unitarianism, to attack the all-people's defense system and the role of the YPA in the defense of our country and seek a change in this role.

We must always critically, concretely, and realistically assess the state of our defense and protection capability in every cell of our society, constantly bearing in mind the conditions in the world, the military-political position of our country, the requirements of modern war and of our all-people's defense concept. Of course, we must never be satisfied with what we have achieved because many factors of international and internal nature operate unceasingly and consequently, we constantly must strengthen and develop our defense and protection.

The further socialization of national defense and social self-protection, because it must be realized as a revolutionary process, is a vital precondition for us to succeed in this.

Comrades, the long-term program of economic stabilization is the starting point for our overall action to find a way out of the economic crisis and the realization of dynamic development on a stable basis. The LC must oppose more resolutely the continuation of the practice up to now of its inconsistent, unsynchronized, and partial achievements and the great delay in carrying them out. Today it is clear that we must accelerate the processes of the extensive methods of running the economy and more resolutely turn our attention to raising labor productivity, fully using all economic resources, and struggling for high product quality. The historic moment requires that a significantly different attitude be created toward the economy and business operations, toward self-managment mobility and the concentration of resources, and the construction and development of large business system. With these measures of developmental and economic policy and with the energetic action of the LC and other subjective forces, an about face must be achieved and performed in the direction of greater social and progressive valuing of productive and creative work, know-how and ability, innovation and inventiveness.

At this moment, it is of exceptional importance that all social forces are involved in continuing the already-begun processes of overcoming the stagnation of production. It is necessary that in 1986 the already-begun growth of social production be stabilized and then, in the course of these 5 years, its growth rate be further increased on a qualitative economic basis. Without this, in other words, if there is stagnation, not one of the most important tasks facing us in the immediate future -- keeping inflation within acceptable proportions, and expanding the choice of commodities, exporting goods and services, abolishing of unemployment, and strengthening scientific and technical development -- will be able to be achieved. The large reserves which exist in the inadequately exploited material and human resources, offer us a precious basis both for the more rapid growth of production and for the attainment of the general quality of economic activity. With measures of the system of economic developmental policy and the action of subjective forces, we should ensure that production capacities are used to a much greater degree, that operational costs are more rapidly reduced, that the circulation of funds is accelerated so that country's foreign exchange resources are better channeled into productive ventures, and that there is a more rapid increase in labor productivity. The most important preconditions for the increase in the rate of the production growth on economically rational and qualitative bases, is the increase in exports, especially to the convertible currency area, and more rapid and more rational involvement in the international division of labor. The limitation of the domestic market points to the powerful expansion of goods export. Without this we cannot realize the full and rational increase of our economic potential, just as without the more powerful influence of the economic criteria of the world market, in domestic production there is no successful transition to an intensive method of doing business. The significant comparative advantages for which Yugoslavia has potential in the export of services, particularly in the sphere of tourism and international transport and demand that both the developmental current economic policies pay greater attention to them. The increase of overall foreign exchange receipts is also the precondition for the repayment of foreign debts and in the coming period this will remain one of our most difficult problems and most important tasks. We must build up a common Yugoslav conception of involvement in the international division of labor, so that we export what is combatible with international economy in the most rational way and import what will essentially contribute to our technical and technological development. The expansion of exports should increasingly be realized through joint production and export programs and on the bases of the most extensive integration and division of labor in the united Yugoslav economic sphere, with the strengthening of the qualitative factor in the conduct of business. It should develop, too, in those products and services in which it is possible to realize increasingly favorable foreign exchange methods.

It is also necessary to develop more quickly higher forms of economic cooperation with other countries, joint industrial ventures, joint investment, and the like; to achieve the necessary changes in the regional structure of our foreign economic relations as a whole, in particular with the developing countries. The rational and intensive inclusion in the internationl division of labor depends on qualitative changes in the policy of development and economy structure, the more organized operation of the economy in foreign markets, the faster development of integrational processes, greater respect for common interests, and the faster overcoming of the blind and group-ownership entrenchment behind narrow interests, even when this clearly does immediate harm to the common interests of Yugoslavia as a whole.

There is quite a bit of this in our relations with other countries. Foreign currency income from tourism is of great importance to the Yugoslav economy. This is certainly where our great chances lie and should be exploited more fully.

However, the warnings that our real foreign currency income from tourism is much greater than that which the institutions of the social sector realize must for once be taken seriously. For economic, social, and political reasons, we cannot allow this to remain the case. The problem with speculating on foreign currency must be tackled with greatest severity. We, of course, are not taking here about citizens' legally saving in foreign currency accounts, but about foreign currency from unauthorized and illegal payments from foreigners and the transfer of foreign currency from the social sector to private pockets.

The unexploited agricultural reserves are enormous. If we overcome the clear lag in agriculture as soon as possible, we will create exceptionally great opportunities to increase production all round. This is also of great importance for the stability of the domestic market, reducing inflation, raising the living standard, and improving the balance of payments.

The faster development of energy production, together with the greatest possible rationalization of energy use, should be seen as one of the key conditions for the faster development of production in general. But such development is not possible in the way that has existed hitherto; that is, under conditions of division and fragmentation. We are seriously behind in a joint Yugoslav program for the development of energy production, saving energy, and replacing imported sources of energy with domestic ones. We need an ambitious but realistic energy program based on combined Yugoslav balance sheets and rational use, above all, of domestic energy sources, with maximum care being taken over the protection of the environment. In the further development of energy production, our country, like the rest of the world, must involve itself in the modern trends in the exploitation of new energy sources, including nuclear ones. But this has to be a joint Yugoslav program. A decision on the construction of any kind of nuclear energy plant can only be adopted with the agreement of the competent federal organs and the broadest advance consultative information for the public. Reconstruction, modernization, more intensive intensive cooperation in industry based on the broader self-management integration and division of labor in the unified Yugoslav economic space -- this is the sure way toward the fast and rational increase of production in this largest of economic spheres.

Under conditions of the lagging development of communications, the water resources systems and housing and the lag of the construction industry is incomprehensible and unacceptable. With relatively little investment, the development of the construction industry will perceptibly contribute to the faster growth of production and employment.

We can achieve similar results with the faster development of the small-scale economy, which deserves the backing, general support, and particular support of the economic policy. It is high time for us to free ourselves of vacillation, doubts, and ideological prejudices regarding the place and role of the small-scale economy in complementing production structure, in greater and faster employment, and the involvement to this and of large resources of our workers abroad.

The development and current economic policy must aim at raising the volume and structure of investments as soon as possible to a level that corresponds to the modern developmental needs of the country, and at raising the efficiency of investments to a level that corresponds to modern European standards. Exceptionally great reserves in that respect are concealed in the large quantity of resources which are frozen in stocks.

Excessively high stocks in the economy which are out of line with the volume of production are manifested as an intolerably slow turnover of resources and directly slow down the development of production forces, exports, and employment, as well as the growth of the living standard.

The measures for the financial consolidation of the economy, development of production cooperation, stimulation of saving and innovations, the measures for selectively increasing imports, and , in particular, the measures which should ensure efficient functioning of the unified Yugoslav market, the resources frozen in stocks can be relatively reduced in favor of investing the economy's basic funds. Full attention should be devoted to increasing domestic sources for financing investments. Here as well, we have considerable unused opportunities and possibilities. Increasing economic income within the framework of opportunities of bigger contributions for extended reproduction is certainly the main direction of our efforts in this aspect. But, we should by no means forget that the population's savings cleverly stimulated, is of primary importance for economic investment. Foreign funds, whether in the form of credits for importing equipment or in the form of joint investments with foreign partners should be accepted on the basis of orientations and criteria from the adopted plans of the federation, republics, and provinces and with the guarantee that the one who gets these funds should be in a position to repay them on time.

Rational utilization and self-managing concentration of accumulation funds, which are scarce in Yugoslav economy; it is the irreplaceable orientation of the development policy. It is necessary that the LC make more resolute efforts toward the greater efficiency of investments and self-managing concentration...of...investment funds on the strategic programs of development and in accordance with the interest for a speedier increase of income. We therefore must attach great significance to the reform of business banking, so that it can realize its financial and development functions, primarily on the basis of economic criteria, with strengthening the responsibility of banks and breaking up their heretofore pronounced territorialization.

The policy of stimulating the developing of economically insufficiently developed republics, particularly the socialist autonomous Province of Kosovo, as one of the main orientations of our overall socioeconomic, and particularly development policy, will be best realized through closer association of the organizations of associated labor of all our republics and provinces on joint production and export programs and through fuller economic integration on the basis of the division of labor and specialization and through developing large economic systems. The assets from the fund for stimulating development of insufficiently developed republics and the Province of Kosovo therefore should be used primarily in a way that will stimulate this and similar processes.

Dynamic, rational, and harmonious economic development without delay demands our active participation in the scientific and technological revolution and the considerably more intense and wider development of science, education, and culture. Because they are not just mere proponents of technological progress but real conditions for the worker and self-manager who by taking control of the technology and organization of production, can thereby really take control of reproduction of his life. The strategic objective of active participation in the new international division of labor presupposes our more intensive and organized participation in the international scientic and technological trends. For this objective, it is necessary to establish as soon as possible a unified strategy of Yugoslav technological development so that the organizations of associated labor, starting from this strategy, can adopt their own program, with established priorities, on the basis of which the division of labor will be carried out and scientific potentials engaged on them.

This is the only way we can rationally join the international division of labor and the transfer of knowledge and technology, and reduce the dependence on importing licences. We must stop the practice of buying outdated and duplicated technologies and buying them under very restrictive conditions at that.

The insufficient participation of science in social practice, from production to social activities, is not manifested only as shortcomings of ties between individual organizations (for instance, research and economic organizations). The entire system of the organization of science and scientific research work is lagging behind the needs of society. In this area the integration within Yugoslavia is insufficient. It is therefore necessary that in the next period we should deal more fully with the organization, conditions of work, and the role of science in our society, so that we can make all subjects in science and associates labor more responsible for realizing their social function. We must develop science and technology among the broadest front, from the scientific basis of labor in every job to the entire sociopolitical relations and developing the concept of its further development. In this sense, we must approach the system of education and upbringing as a factor of the development of science and its transfer to the self-managing worker, as one of the most important factors of social progress in general. Upbringing and education are the most significant social areas because our most precious development potential stems from them. The LC approaches this obligation with an attitude based on the demand that they be brought into the function of creating complete, courageous, creative personalities, free of all admixtures of traditionalism and dogmatism, capable of realizing economic, self-managing, and other tasks which society sets in front of them and which are imposed by the time in which they live.

The LC has the duty to struggle for the self-managing transformation of the educational training system, for its linkage with the other spheres of associated labor and for its greater unity at the Yugoslav level. Both the joint principles and essence of the educational training program and all the forms and contents of republican and provincial cooperation at this level -- including legislative activity and the network of schools, universities, and other educational-training institutions -- should be subjected to these demands, which are the result of the nature of modern development. There can be no modern progress of production forces, successfull development of socialist self-management, or strengthening of Yugoslav unity without the unhindered of circulation of ideas and free professional and labor association throughout Yugoslav territory, particularly in the sphere of science, education, and culture. The creation of conditions for the accelerated development of science and research work at universities is of exceptional importance. It is necessary to devote greater attention to unifying scientific and material potentials with the aim of organizing interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary studies for highly specialized cadres and to halt the large flow of eminent experts abroad from universities and othe scientific and research institutions.

High inflation is one of our major problems. It degrades our system, weakens its possibilities and reduces the results of efforts to increase exports and the qualitative factors of economic operations, lowers the standard of living of workers and the poorest strata of our society, and transfers the burden of the struggle for economic stabilization almost exclusively onto their shoulders. For this reason, the curbing of inflation represents one of the most important prerequisites for away out of economic crisis and fpr the implementation of the tasks and goals of development and economic policies. Our activity that aims to curb inflation must be complex and directed toward elminating all of its causes. It is necessary to have a comprehensive anti-inflationary program of measures and activities, from the basic organization of associated labor to the federation.

It is the duty of the LC to make sure that, in the struggle against inflation, all means of the economic policy and the economic system are used and all the forces of society mobilized.

In order to curb inflation it is of crucial importance to increase production, exports, and income and to take more resolute measures to relieve the economy from enormous overhead costs. One should more rapidly realize the proposed measures for the financial consolidation of economy and the banks, reduce the indebtedness of the economy by rescheduling debts, and produce more effective solutions in order to reduce the heavy burden of differencies in the exchange of the dinar. One must end the practice of spending more than is created as quickly as possible. Along with this it is necessary to implement in a more effective way the policy of the social control of prices increases than it has been so far. In our socialist self-managing society, social policy is an essential factor for the success in our material and social development. The LCY proceeds from the attitude that the effective solutions of exacerbated problems in the sphere of the living standard and social policy can be achieved only through better economic activity, increased income, and reduced inflation.

We must develop a more comprehensive system of motivating workers for better work and economic activity on the basis of the consistent application of the principle of distribution according to the results of labor and more speedily implement the LCY's policy and stands in this sphere, which werre examined in more detail at the 24th session of the LCY Central Committee and in the draft resolution submitted to this congress. Communists must exert efforts in order that in all the organizations of associated labor and institutions of the system, the necessary criteria and yardsticks for such a distribution and that hesitation and resistance be more resolutely suppressed. It is the duty of Communists to fight against leveling, which has become increasingly pronounced in conditions of high inflation, as well as against untenable discrepancies in personal incomes, which are not based on the resulsts of one's labor. Communists are also expected to fight more resolutely to ensure workers' equality in the acquisition and distribution of income. Without this we cannot know for certain to what extent the acquired income is the result of labor and management of social resources on the part of workers in the basic organization of associated labor, and to what extent it is the result, in other words, the consequence, of privileged or unequal position of workers with regard to conditions for economic activities.

The principle of socialist solidarity and reciprocation, which is the component part of our social relations, should be realized in keeping with our society's material capacities and in such a way that will not encourage idleness and irrational behavior.

By proceeding from the fundamental orientations of the long-term economic stabilization program, it is of particular significance to ensure the consistent implementation of the constitutional principle of everyone contributing to satisfying the general social and common needs in proportion with his economic strength. In this connection, it is necessary to realize with greater resolve the redistribution of the burden of economic difficulties on that section of the population that has more and leads a richer life. We must continue to fight in an organized manner for the formulation and application of measures protecting the standard of living of those categories of the population that are in a more difficult position in this respect.

The LCY must launch the most persistent struggle for the swift elimination of social differences that are not based on the criteria of distribution according to work.

Nothing can justify the existing inefficiency in this respect. What we need is a much more efficient working class tax system and tax policy. A much more resolute struggle against corruption, speculatory ways of acquiring money, theft of social property, etc. is also indispensable.

Great unemployment is one of our gravest social and political problems. This is also an outstanding development problem because many young trained cadres who, with their knowledge and enthusiasm could contribute substantially to a speedier and more successful development of the country, are out of jobs. We have both material and other opportunities to resolve this problem more rapidly, but we do not make enough use of them. What we need are well-thought-out programs and specific actions. Such programs should encourage dynamic economic development, but also the discovery of more adequate systemic solutions and the adoption of the relevant economic policy measures. They should lay emphasis on the responsibility of the workers in disposing social resources, encourage the development of tertiary activities and more efficient investments, provide incentives for the accelerated development of economically insufficiently developed areas, increase agricultural production, and direct the savings of the population into production currents and the like.

We must deliberte and formulate more consisently and more efficiently the policy and the constitutional orientations about the work of citizens with their personally owned means. In order to achieve greater employment and the rational deployment of production forces, it is important to encourage the greater mobility of resources and workers, particularly those seeking jobs. Measures that aim to attract professional and highly trained cadres into underdeveloped areas must have the same purpose. The large reserves represented by capacities that are not used could be quickly turned to practical use by introducing work in several shifts, more intensive production cooperation, joint investments, and so. Promoting the entire way of life and work in the rural areas, raising the farm workers' specialized knowledge and the technical level of agricultural work, developing small-scale economic operations in the rural areas for the needs of the rural areas, developing agricultural cooperatives and village tourism, and creating conditions for farm workers' old age insurance and for the employment of agricultural workers -- all this should contribute to the development of agriculture and deceleration of the irrational exodus of the rural population, particularly the young.

Etatist-bureaucratic ideology and practice are undoubtedly today, in our present reality the greatest obstacle to the revolutionary development of our society on the basis of socialist self-management. In recent years, under conditions of economic crisis and of crisis tendencies in other societal spheres under the influence of intensified ideological and political offensives by the bourgeois right-wing forces in world dimensions and the exacerbated contradictions in the development of individual socialist countries, in our society and even in the LCY, there emerged to a greater extent than before ideotheoretical concepts that are an expression of the bourgeois-liberalist ideology. These two ideopolitical orientations are contrary to our Marxist and working class revolutionary orientation, beginning with the very idea of socialism, that is with the very strategy of socialist development. The critics of our understanding of socialism and of our socialist strategy negate the working class revolutionary character of socialist self-management development and the historical role of the working class as the motivating force of the revolution. From the bourgeois positions, with quasiscientific arguments, the expendiency and reality of our strategic aim of having the workers be the masters of expanded reproduction is being disputed. The dogmatic bureautic resistance to the social emancipation of the working class are manifested, among other things, in views that the normative institutional structure of the system already achieved on the whole automatically ensures this emancipation.

On the basis of such an ideological approach, social forces that are only now struggling to become society's leading forces are described as if they have already become that. Objective problems and obstacles along the path of realizing the system's intention -- that is to make the direct producer in material production also the one who adopts management decision -- are being ignored. What are lacking are the necessary theoretical and practical political analyses and work programs of the LCY and other subjective forces, by which these problems would be elucidated and ways of resolving them found.

In this time of cirsis, the ideas advocating a radical suppression of socialist principles, factors, and goals are also appearing in our country. The purpose of these ideas is, within the contradictior socialist processes to establish and strengthen relations and factors of capitalist society. Communism is being reduced to unattainable utopia, and at the same time the differences between socialism and capitalism are being increasingly played down. On the other hand, the proponents of etatist ideology in our country are attempting to restrict the scope of our revolution. They loudly advocate the development of social criticism, but at the same time they try to suppress and extinguish all efforts to develop the original Marxist criticism of various tendencies within socialism. This practice and ideology invalidate and betray the socialist democratic intentions and potential of our institutions, and at the same time involve persistent efforts to equate openly the bureaucratic-etatist distortion of practice with the system and ideas that inspired it and that are fundamental to it. In contrast to our ideas of the dialectic objective and subjective factors of social development in socialism, the views that one-sidedly interpret the role and significance of objective factors, while they brand all activites of subjective factors and their impact on economic trends as etatism or voluntarism, are very widespread. The 1974 Constitution and the law an associated labor are criticized because, by setting, in their words, utopian and unrealistic goals and objectives, they have allegedly curbed the role and significance of objective ecnonomic laws thus contributing to the socioeconomic crisis. According to the opinion of these critics of our system, it was necessary, first of all, to create material and objective conditions for achieving the historical goals of the communist movement, and only then think about how to struggle for these goals. As early as 1950, under exceptionally difficult conditions of external pressures, isolation, and economic backwardness, we have, by the adoption of the law on workers' self-management, committed ourselves to implementing one of the most important processes on the road to the construction of communist society, the process of the withering away of the state. Tito said on the occasion that even then we were too late and unless we took immediate measures to achieve it, "we would have to wait endlessly" for that to come.

The League of Communist consciously formulates its strategic documents in such a way as to maintain the vision and certain program committments and to make the general direction of development more clear, as well as the goals for which we are fighting and the criteria for solving numerous problems that arise at every stage of our development. The exponents of etatist-bureaucratic notions are ignoring precisely that programmatic element in the Constitution and other document, among other things, because this element alone, not bureaucratic routine and inertia, is the instrument for stimulating creative efforts in all spheres of life. This element calls for a social struggle in which it is necessary to be active and have clear orientations. The very concept of social ownership has come under a barrage of criticism. Attempts are made in various ways to show that not one of the forms of social ownership stimulates producers sufficiently toward high productivity, develops one's creative potentials, or builds up an adequately responsible attitude to work.

There is talk on how we should reconstruct our social property system in the direction of the so-called mixed economy. It is stressed that within socialism there should exist a greater number of independent methods of production whereby that which is based on social ownership does not have to have a dominant role. Suggestions are even being made the social ownership should develop in the direction of stock ownership.

There has also been increasing criticism of certain forms of social consumption such as health care, education, and housing. In contrast to these views, etatist-bureaucratic forces are either openly advocating state ownership or are declaring the existing social-ownership relations, which are still greatly burdened by the elements of state ownership, as being the realized form of social ownership, and are thus de facto favoring the side of the status quo. All this is also being helped by serious weaknesses in the realization of our constitutional concept of social ownership manifested in the form of state ownership monopolies and tendencies to group ownership.

Criticism of etatist and bureaucratic voluntarist domination of the economy also features the demand for the economy to be liberated from politics. The LC is struggling to free economic relations and economic policy from those relics of the etatist system that are, in any case, not in accordance with the Constitution, that is, with the concept of associated labor and the political system of socialist self-management. The LCY's standpoint is that this can be achieved in such a way as to ensure that the system of socialist self-management production relations develops so that workers in associated labor are put in direct control of the social means of reproduction, but in such a way as to guarantee that economic laws are respected and that the relatively most efficient and most rational results in production and economic development are attained.

Socialist self-management, as a production relationship, indeed has its own sociopolitical dimension. The LCY and other sociopolitical organizations and the state have a corresponding role in that system as an instrument in the hands of the working class organized in a self-managing way, which defends the interests of that class.

The LCY must perceive in good time such and similar contents of etatist-bureaucratic and bourgeois-liberalist ideology -- which are increasingly in evidence in society and in the LCY as well -- and must very clearly disassociate itself from them. It is essential that we study their social and class origins in our society, as well as their practical and political meaning. But, in order to squeeze out these orientations, we must, on the basis of Marxist theoretical researches and critiical reexamination of our now practice, develop the ideotheoretical bases of our own strategy, and develop that strategy itself, changing all the socialist social practice has rejected, on condition, of course, that our action works toward changing social practice itself.

Of those forces that are today operating in a counterrevolutionary manner, the most dangerous is nationalism, it is on the increase in all its forms in all our environments. Nationalism encompasses various spheres of our life from economic and political relations to relations in culture, and especially in historiography. The protagonists of nationalism invoke all forms of dissatisfaction, foster all the illusions and simplified views about the society and manipulate them. They skillfully use and, at the same time, encourage various negative tendencies, which are the consequence of the pressures of etatist relations, that is disintegrational tendencies and manifestations of the encapsulation and the fragmentation of our economy.

They favor those ideological deformations that reduce the equality of nations and nationalities to the equality of states and not the equality of people, producers, and citizens. The bourgeois right, as well as those sectors of etatist-bureaucratic forces that build their strength on international tensions and misunderstandings, seek and find a common language on the platform of nationalism. They are joined by clericonationalism as a form of abuse of religion for disseminating religious and national intolerance, creating suspicion and arousing hatred toward other nations and religions, especially among young believers.

The counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo demonstrated the entire reactionary nature and hostile content of nationalism brought to a state of incandescence.

We Communists must be in the front ranks of the struggle against nationalism. But this struggle must always be waged in a unified front by all socialist forces among all peoples and nationalities and everywhere in Yugoslavia.

The first condition for the successful struggle of socialist forces against all forms of nationalism is an uncompromising struggle against nationalism in our own environment.

Unfortunately, Communists have not always been consistent here. It is required of us that we be even more decisive in overcoming differing criteria in evaluating nationalism -- that we wage a more stubborn fight against the regionalization of the press and against the individuals and group that strive to draw individual associations and information media into their nationalist quarrels and tricks and involve them in intranational polemics and mutual "name calling", and which strive to assume the duty of overseeing nationalist manifestations in other environments while ignoring similar manifestations in their own environment.

It is impossible to overcome our current difficulties and to achieve our goals and tasks at this stage of the Yugoslav socialist revolution without the comprehensive, united commitment of all organized subjective forces with the LC at their head. The successful involvement of the LC depends to a great degree upon a change in its current position, which, in contradiction to its own program orientations and the requirements of the self-managing process, makes it an integral part of a structure that is in many respects etatist, and thereby necessarily makes it both mediator and arbiter in endless, mainly opportunistic and compromising coordination of partial interests that have come into conflict and that are often fabricated.

The abandoning of this position and the creative inclusion in reality of the "current moment" of our revolution implies the duty of the LC to replace its activity from positions of power and with the help of power, and to replace, not infrequently, the organs of power with the appropriate ideological and political activity among the working class, mass political and social organizations, and the institutions of the political system of socialist self-management. The LC therefore has the revolutionary duty to rid itself of collusion and bureaucratic partnership with the state organs, to overcome forum-type work on the part of leaderships, to develop and build its leaderships into genuine revolutionary headquarters oriented toward the broadest party and social grassroots, and capable of offering these grassroots real programs and of leading them to concrete actions instead of offering them papers and empty appeals. There is no alternative to the demand for the LC to be more completely rooted in the working class.

The reputation and influence of the LC has always been measured by the extent to which it has succeeded in taking root in the everyday reality of the working class, the extent to which it has expressed and realized the interests of the working class in its ideological and political activities and the extent to which it has guided social trends and encouraged revolutionnary changes. In this regard we take as our starting point the understanding that all creative forces in society that accelerate social development, all those who on the basis of their work contribution directly influence the development of production forces and whose work results are confirmed both in the domestic and world market are an integral part of the working class.

The more solid and complete working-class basis for the action and orientation of the LC is thus all the more pressing since in the working class and working masses there is great dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs in socioeconomic relations, the fall in living standards; the crisis trends in the economy; the intensification of social differences, which are not based on work and the results of work; and the phenomena of the privatization of social property and group-property tendencies. They are also dissatisfied with the inertia, wavering, and lack of unity of the LC, trade unions and other subjective forces in the struggle for the eradication of these phenomena and tendencies.

Only through comprehensive involvement in the working class and its active presence in socialist self-management processes can the LC realize the unity of its ideological leadership and involvement in carrying out concrete revolutionary tasks, and the mobilization out of their lethargy of the not inconsiderable part of its membership that in virtually no way plays a part in the realization and establishment of its policies.

The roots of the LC In the working class and the aspiration toward changes in the social-class composition of its members, which should guarantee the greater representation and more intensive participation of workers in all forms and content of its work, do not imply or tolerate any kind of regressive or sectarian approach to questions of social and political fundamentals of its revolutionary action. The orientation of the LC will have prospects and its action success only if it has sufficient space to affirm the creative potential and interests of workers, working peasantry, and intelligentsia, especially the young generation, and all social groups and strata that, in the given moment, constitute factors of progress. The LC's needs and aims can only be realized by those members who display ability and militancy, whose social position and awareness, motives and interests contain necessary elements and efforts needed in the struggle for realization of the ideas of socialism and humanism.

In order to strengthen its ranks in this respect the LC should continue even more intensively the process it has begun of democratizing the cadres policy, in which significant steps have been made recently, and should create conditions so that creative cadres reach positions within the LC and in society, who know and are willing to come to grips with the challenges of the accelerated development of the production forces and the scientific-technological revolution, who are capable of finding out the essence of all the elements and content of self-managing transformation, and to direct its course in a timely and active manner. The policy of recruitment into the LC ranks should be contained in the function of this demand.

The LC ranks should only be open for those who really understand and accept its revolutionary role and orientation and who are ready to fight for it.

Without serious results in the sphere of cadre policy and the admission policy, the LC will not be able to reorganize itself to a sufficient extent into the organization of creative forces in all the fields of social life, the forces which are capable of overcoming various burdens from the past, prejudices, and mutual lack of trust; of promoting self-managing social relations; of making fresh in-roads into realizing fresh production programs and technologies and in this way, of ensuring our equal participation in the international division of labor.

Our own experience has convinced us that democratic dialogue and all-party debate are the right and effective ways to both activate the membership and realize its right to participate in establishing the policy of the organization and also to step up the issue of its responsibility for the implementation of this policy. Only on this basis can the principle of democratic centralism, be reaffirmed in the real sense; it remains to be the sacred basis of the LC's internal relations, and only on this basis can phenomena and tendencies of federalization in its ranks be suppressed. Without the unhindered and free flow of information and initiatiaves from the grassroots to the top and vice-versa and without a climate in which its every member can manifest himself as a creative person, the LC will not overcome many of its internal difficulties, especially not those which concern the practice of different interpretations of and failure to realize the fundamental contents of attitudes toward its policy, the irresponsible behavior of low-ranking officials toward the decisions and stands of high-ranking organs; absence of regular democratic control, and the critical analysis of the work and behavior of its every member, organization and leadership. The democratization of relations in the LC is an essential factor in gathering and involving the most progressive social forces and the creative synthesis of all that arises in society as a result of scientific knowledge and practical experiences and in the function of the emancipation of labor and man.

The LC must, also in this phase of its revolutionary struggle, fulfill what Tito had always demanded of it: to be a united organization in an ideopolitical and action sense, not permitting any grouping or elements of ideopolitical neutralism and pluralism. Such unity can only be achieved in revolutionary action and by respecting its organizational prerequisite, that is, democratic centralism and a speedier and resolute emancipation of the LC from all the members who do not follow its course and who introduce and reproduce in its practice and the ideological sphere statist-bureaucratic and bourgeois-liberalist views and mentalities, opportunism, dogmatism, bureaucratic obstinacy, factionalism, nationalism, priviliges, and egotism. Opposing any apparent unity which could arise under the patronage of any alienated bureaucratic statist or centralist structure or on the basis of making anyone's partial interest absolute, the LC can and has to develop its unity only by patient and consistent ideopolitical work which aims to synthesize and reaffirm those actions and orientations of the membership which despite various concrete forms of manifesting themselves, lead toward the realization of the goals and tasks of our revolution.

The ability of the LC to reaffirm its ideopolitical orientations in practice essentially depends both on the behavior and moral suitability of each of its members;on the success of their work; their efforts and approach to work in self-managing organs and sociopolitical organizations; their attitude toward fellow-human beings, social ownership, and negative social phenomena; the extent to which they are ahead of others in tackling problems and tasks; and their self-sacrifice, principled behavior, and responsibility as an example to other people. Only those of high moral suitability whose words do not differ from their deeds and who by their work and behavior prove the possibility of the realization of a communist project for a new, humane, and democratic society, can count upon personal example and create a revolutionary vanguard. Communists must be ahead of others and sacrifice themselves more than anyone else in the struggle for a new society, but they must not lay claims upon any special rights or privileges in it.

The LC can strengthen its ranks in an organized way and become capable of realizing its vanguard role only in the process of social changes and subject to the degree and character of its influence on these changes. In order to be ready at any moment for mobilization and capable of being the first one in society and its own ranks to rapidly spot the factors of progress and regression and to be ready to carry out resolute action, the LC must raise to a higher level its entire ideopolitical work.

Only through well-developed theoretical work and ideological creativeness, through criticism based on scientific knowledge, which will be versed in the subject under criticism and which will not be afriad of the consequences, as well as through the contest of opinion which will not be fettered by the usage customary in monolithic practice and the rules of consensus can the LC acquire and maintain that level of knowledge and revolutionary consciousness which enables it to understand the essence and the contradictions of the present world events as well as the character and contents of the specific social problems and tasks which it directly faces. What the LC fully accepts is an ideology and theory which originate in the revolutionary critical attitude to be given social consciousness and which serve the further revolutionary historical process in Yugoslavia and the world. This means that the sources of its knowledge, in addition to its own experiences, should be scientific research, comprehension acquired by theoretical debates, as well as the workers' and people's direct experiences in their struggle for the development of socialist self-management. A higher level of consciousness and the ideological education of its membership represent the irreplaceable prerequisite for the successful recognition of the essential contents and meanings of etatist-bureaucratic, bourgeois, and other non-Marxist ideologies and theories and for the successful parting of ways with them, as well as for the further development of the communists' consciousness about their own social position, about the problems and contradictions of their own identity, and about the causes of the phenomenon of encumbrance with manifestations and tendencies of conservativism, dogmatism, and bureaucratism. This is also an irreplaceable prerequistite for the successful activity of communists in workers' councils, delegations, and assemblies in order to solve tasks that have been submitted by other bodies and organs.

Theoretical work and ideological struggle should unite and manifest the efforts of the LC with regard to further critical reexamination of our practice and our concepts, with regard to the further development of our strategy of socialist self-managing development and of changing in this strategy everything which has rejected the revolutionary experiences of the working class and its social and political protagonists with regard to efforts to seek a way out of the present crisis situation within the frameworks of real historical possibilities. A prerequisite for this is also the ability to introduce, in the positive understanding of the existing situation and relations, understanding for the need to substitute them with higher forms and qualities. This is the condition of the knowledge of how and in what dimensions our historical goals are present in what we have done and what we are doing today. To achieve this demand also implies the united involvement by basic organizations and leadership, political schools, Marxist centers, and party press, particularly in combatting superificiality formalism, and ideological lack of unity in the process of ideological training.

In the period between the 12th and 13th LCY Congresses the international situation has worsened. This negative development, which has become particularly manifest in the past few months, continues and threatens to turn into a deep crisis of international relations. Dangerous confrontations have continued, as well as the application of a policy of force; war and crisis hotbeds are multiplying in many parts of the world; rivalry by military-political blocs continue in military superiority and in spheres of influence.

The arms race has assumed frightening proportions: For the production of increasingly destructive arms about $1 trillion are now annually being spent. At the same time, the world scene continues to be characterized by a deep crisis of international economic relations and the increasingly difficult position of developing countries. Hunger and poverty represent a glaring reality of a great section of the world today.

The social development in the world and the trends in international relations in the period since the last congress were marked by complex contradiction. The continuation of confrontations between the forces fighting for deep changes of the present state of international relations, for peace and progress, for democratic and equitable cooperation between peoples and states, and of those forces which oppose this in their desire to halt the social progress and retain relations steeped in subordination, exploitation, and domination, continued. The process of the social and national emancipation, which are intertwined and mutually affect each other, have gripped the whole world. The development of socialism as a world process continues, and the circle of social and political subjects which fight in very varied conditions for social progress and socialism expands. Scientific-technological revolution and the achievements of the human mind open up prospects of further progress by mankind, and create conditions for a fuller satisfying of material and spiritual needs of the people and nations but there is great danger in international relations that they will also be used more and more for fresh forms of oppression and exploitation, for the production of dangerous arms, the use of which threatens the extermination of mankind.

The interdependence of all parts of today's world is growing, while at the same time, its manifold divisions are growing ever deeper. Although the historical process of decolonization is basically already completed, the pressures of neocolonialism are growing stronger, and new forms of dependence and subjugation are emerging. The increasingly profound abyss between the developed and developing countries is bringing into question the prospects for world development and represents the expression of the profound crisis of international economic relations.

The increasingly pronounced aspirations of peoples for peace and equal international cooperation, for a democratization of international political and economic relations -- the most consistent protagonist of which is the Nonaligned Movement -- are coming into confrontation with the policy of force, domination, and hegemonism. Acting as an independent, global, and independent factor in international relations, the movement and policy of nonalignment have affirmed themselves as a great political and moral force in the modern world, which through its struggle for peace, for democratization of international relations, and establishment of a New International Economic Order, is making a substantial contribution to progressive social development in the world.

The general picture of today's world shows that the dilemmas with which we are faced are universal in nature. The affect not only individual social classes, nations, and states, but also the entire world community. The chief question facing us is: How is the international community to confront, in an organized and successful manner, the chief sociopolitical problems of the present time, to ensure that the negative processes currently under way do not develop spontaneously, with unforeseeable and, a rule, negative and -- as may happen -- even catastrophic consquences?

How can it be brought about that the positive values based upon the achievements won in the struggle for a free and more humane life of man and peoples and for advancement of international cooperation are preserved in these processes?

In seeking an answer to this question, today, as ever, progressive social forces, parties, and movements have a special role and responsibility. Because we firmly believe that common decisions should be made on issues affecting the destiny of the world, our country and the LCY have, in the period which has elapsed, exerted great efforts to affirm those forms of multilateral agreement-making, cooperation, and decisionmaking -- such as the Nonaligned Movement, the United Nations, the Conference on European Security and Coopertion -- all of which have made the greatest contribution to the common struggle for peace and equal international cooperation. The international situation would have been far less favorable today had it not been for these forms of multilateral democratic gathering-together, decisionmaking, and action, which through their commitment, spread the ideas of equality, independence, cooperation, and mutual respect. It is therefore our profound conviction that there is no other way than seeking solutions to common problems in this manner, primarily through the United Nations.

The most important of all global problems today is without a doubt the struggle for peace and for the prevention of a nuclear war. The struggle for world peace and equal international cooperation has become the basic precondition for the progressive development of mankind, and of its very existence. We must constantly bear in mind the truth that the consequences of a nuclear war would be catastrophic for the entire human race. it is therefore a terrifying fact the continuation of the arms race -- with the development of space weaponry, which is advocated by the ruling circles and military industrial complex of the United States of America and some Western European countries -- threaten to get wholly out of control. We vigorously condemn that course and practice and decisively demand that measures be taken to halt the arms race, to ban nuclear weapns, and to start a process of general and total disarmament.

Our country and the LCY have for decades been tirelessly advocating general and comprehensive disarmament under international control; the liquidation of foreign military bases; the withdrawal of troops from foreign territories; a ban on nuclear tests; the creation of nuclear-free zones, and all the other measures which would lead toward lessening international tension; eliminating the war danger, and fear from nuclear annihilation. In this respect we recently put forward several constructive proposals and supported all positive initiatives of other countries and supported all positive initiatives of other countries and political forces leading to this. Like other peace-loving nations we welcome and support as renewed dialogue between the United States and the USSR, the countries with the strongest military potential and the main exponents of the arms race, hoping that they will open up prospects for renewed detente and lead to concrete agreements on halting the arms race. Unfortunately, this is not the case. But the opposite has happened. The U.S. Government even announced the revocation of SALT II, which can have unforeseeable negative consequences. We are deeply convinced that the international community should continue to encourage the continuation of negotiatons and thus increase their responsibility for peace in the world.

It is still necessary to have the broadest involvement of all peaceful progressive and democratic forces and the international public in the struggle against the danger of nuclear war and for peace and international cooperation based on the principles of active peaceful coexistence. It is indispenable to consolidate the activity of progressive political parties and movements and peaceful forces with the aim of developing awareness and public support for the policy of disarmament. It would be of great importance to achieve fundamental progress in this direction this year, which had been proclaimed the Year of Peace. It is not possible to develop lasting and stable peace without halting and overcoming a growing gap between the world's rich and poor, and without resolving the dramatic economic development problems of developing countries, such as the problems of food, debts, raw materials, transfer of technology, and so forth, which have arisen in the world from unequal international economic relations, exclusively subjected to the interests of developed countries.

For this reason it is indispensable to take urgent steps to resolve these problems which at the same time will contribute to efforts to create a new international economic system, based on the principles of equality, mutual benefits, just and stable conditions of international exchange, and the sovereign right of every nation to decide on its own natural resources. We are convinced that such a system of international economic relations would be in the interest of the entire international community, including the developing countries.

Today, the overindebtedness of developing countries is a priority political and economic problem of the modern world. It expresses a deep crisis in the functioning of the international monetary and financial system. In the interest of its progress and peace, mankind must find a speedier exit from these major difficulties. The debt problem cannot be resolved if, in the interest of settling the debts toward specific banks and developed countries-creditors, one hinders the development of overindebted countries. A just and lasting solution can only be found achieving an appropriate agreement between indebted countries and countries-creditors. This would imply writing off all the debts of the poorest countries, reducing interest rates, establishing new repayment deadlines, limiting repayments to a certain percentage of the foreign exchange earning of developing countries, and taking measures to encourage their development and exports. It is therefore necessary to convene a world conference on finance and money in order to carry out a radical reform of the IMF.

It is also indispensable to establish a new economic system in the sphere of information and cultural exchange, because the domination of development countries in this sphere threatens the cultural and national identity of developing countries and has a negative influence on international relations in general. The Nonaligned Movement produced a comprehensive platform on all these issues and offered a series of constructive proposals and ideas in order to resolve them. We are convinced that the coming conference in Harare will be a new step in resolving concrete tasks and overcoming serious economic problems of the modern world. What is now important, and what has been missing, is that developed countries should demonstrate the same degree of constructiveness, responsibility, and political will in order that necessary solutions be found. Unfortunately, an aspiration to avoid joint analysis of economic issues together with developing countries and to abandon the present privilged positions, still prevails. We therefore invite developed countries to show more realism and responsibility toward the attitudes and proposals of the nonaligned and developing countries.

We are sure that the forthcoming conference in Harare will have at the center of its attention these issues and concern for the successful development of the world community as a whole. So many crisis spots in various parts of the world constitute a dangerous and constant source of broader and even global conflicts, a threat to peace in the world. At the same time these conflicts are the cause and result of preventing progressive social trends in certain countries, negating the right to self-determination and stamping out the people's aspiration for freedom.

From that point of view it is seen that the struggle for progressive social transformations and socialism is inseparable from the struggle for peace and new international relations. The creation of the broadest social awareness of the existence of the principles of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, and the right to a free and independent development, the inviolability of borders and noninterfernce in international affairs, as well as the creation of an international atmosphere where any excuse to breach these principles is unacceptable; constitute one of the basic tasks of progressive forces.

Calling for the full realization of these principles and the creation of such a consciousness, the LCY and the SFRY will firmly follow Tito's sure foreign policy course, develop equal cooperation with all countries of the world, and more actively support progressive parties and movements of various orientations with a view to strengthening world peace and peacefully resolving all problems and disputes facing the world.

The framework of that course should be, above all, our constant and active involvement within the Nonaligned Movement in the global questions of peace, security, and development in the world and in actions and initiatives for resolving accumulated world problems, as well as our activity in the United Nations and other international forums and organizations. We will continue to press for the development with all countries of all-round relations, consistently respecting and applying the principles of the UN Charter, the final document of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Helsinki, and all international and bilateral postwar agreements which we have signed and accepted. We also demand that all our partners adhere to these principles and agreements. The development of active and all-round relations on an equal footing with the great powers, regardless of the differences which exist between us; with the countries of Europe and the Mediterranean, to which we are linked by many joint tribulations and a common fate in this vital strategic area of international relations; is the SFRY's lasting orientation.

We are particularly interested in the stable and all-round development of relations with all neighboring countries. Even though we have inherited difficult historical experiences, we have firmly and lastingly applied the principle of good-neighborliness on the basis of strict respect for equality, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, the inviolability of borders and noninterference in internal affairs. In this regard, the equality of those individual peoples who are national minorities in neighboring countries should show understanding mutual cooperation, and friendship.

Any limitation of their basic national and human rights, especially the negation of their very existence, and the denial of the national identity of any nation can only make more difficult the development of good-neighborly relations and the establishment of an atmosphere of trust and stability in the Balkans and its transformation into an area of peace and all-round cooperation, free from nuclear weapons and bloc confrontation.

We are deeply interested in peace, stability, and cooperation in the Balkans. It is the commitment of all political factors in this area to help overcome the inherited burdens and confrontations, solve the outstanding problems, and promote international relations more vigorously.

We will continue making the necessary efforts to strengthen our bilateral cooperation with nonaligned and developing countries. We will especially strive to step up mutual economic exchange, scientific-technical cooperation, and strengthen relations of trust based on the identity of our joint interests which have become a rich tradition in our overall relations with many countries of Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and their liberation movements.

All democratic and social forces, irrespective of their political, ideological, and religious convictions, must make a contribution to the development of new democratic international economic and political relations. Never before has the world felt such a need for the involvement of overall creative potential and collective wisdom.

In all this, the greatest contribution is expected from socialist and other progressive forces, and from communist, socialist, social democratic, and other workers and national liberation parties and movements. The anticommunist, antisocialist ideology and propaganda of conservative right-wing parties was promoted to the level of state policy with their attacks both domestically and internationally on democratic institutions, as well as on the achievements of the working class' historic struggle, and on the people in general. This weighs heavily on international relations and poses a threat to peace in the world.

Of course, the challenge of the new technological revolution and the struggle for peace and social development in today's conditions place many new issues and dilemmas before all progressive social and political forces. Social progress has not yet been automatically ensured on this occasion either. It all depends on the ability of the democratic and social forces to provide adequate answers to these questions and provide a more convincing and feasible program of progressive social transformations. In our assessment, despite the not inconsiderable difficulties which they are confronting, today they are fulfilling their historic role and creative ability.

Significant processes of social reforms have been launched in the socialist countries. They testify to the ability of the leading forces of socialist awareness to critically reexamine their own practice and remove the existing shortcomings by strengthening the working class role as a condition to successful economic and social progress. Original experience of progressive social transformations and of the development of democratic relations in many countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America are at work. The idea is affirmed and the tendency is manifested in the gradual overcoming of the historic division of the workers movement in the West European countries, and so is the need to build up a united strategy of the left-wing parties and of extended cooperation between them.

The circle of workers and other progressive movements which in one way or another accept the idea of self-management as the basis of their political strategy is spreading. In the relations between the workers and other progressive parties and movements, the democratic principles of independence, autonomy, noninterference, responsibility to their own working class and people, and mutual respect for the differences create by virtue of the difference of the conditions in which they operate, are increasingly being asserted. In so doing, more opportunities are available, and the need is also stronger for more intensive cooperation between progressive parties of different political orientation, for a deeper dialogue and better mutual understanding, and for a mutually useful exchange of experience. In the future the LCY will also pay the greatest possible attention to the quality and intensification of its international links and all-round cooperation on an qual footing with communist, socialist, social-democratic, and other workers, progressive, democratic, and liberation parties and movements. We are convinced that in this way too it will make its contribution to the struggle for peace, social progress, and socialism in the world.

The great force of Yugoslav society is standing face to face with the serious difficulties we confront today and with the objectives we must achive. We hae a clear vision of a free, sovereign, and nonaligned socialist self-management community of equal fraternal Yugoslav nations and nationalities who know where they are going and what they want.

We possess enormous untapped material reserves. We have an army totalling in the millions of self-managers, workers, agricultural workers, scientists, cultural, and other people involved in creative endeavors who unswervingly follow the LCY program and policy.

With their ability and readiness with the results of their work and creative endeavors, they help the development of the material and production forces, increase labor productivity and quickly pave the way for us to get out of economic and other difficulties, and to defend and further develop the achievements of our revolution along Tito's path of socialist self-management and firm brotherhood and unity. We have a social climate which is characterized by the mature awareness within the LCY and in our community that we can and must more speedily overcome the present difficulties. The communists and the working people of all our nations and nationalities, with their preparations for this congress, have confirmed their resolve to strengthen the self-management unity of the economy, science and culture, and our system and our society as a whole, so that the period between this and the next congress may become a period of new strong breakthroughs of socialist self-management into our relations and our life and work. These breakthroughs will increase the initiative and the hard work of our working masses to an unmatched extent.

The creative potentials of our system and of our community are such that by using them optimally, the contradictions and the trials we are now experiencing can be overcome, and all the essential tasks of this phase of our revolution can successfully be carried out. Both ideologically and politically the LCY can measure up to this challenge.

I hope I am expressing the sentiments of all the participants in the 13th Congress and of the LCY as a whole when I say: We are going to win this big battle too, the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium said in conclusion.

Belovski Welcomes Delegations

LD261955 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1114 GMT 25 Jun 86

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 25 Jun (TANJUG) -- At the invitation of the LCY Central Committee the 13th Congress is being attended by the representatives of a large number of communist, socialist, social-democratic and other workers and progessive parties and national liberation movements.

Allow me, said Dimce Belovski, to extend the warmest comradely greetings to the delegations and representatives of the parties and movements who are attending the 13th LCY Congress. I welcome the delegations and representatives of the following parties and movements:

-- The delegation from the FLN of Algeria, led by Cherif Messaadia, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and official in charge of the Permanent Secretariat of the Central Committee;
-- The delegation from the MPLA Labor Party of Angola, led by Kundi Paiama, member of the Central Committee Political Bureau;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of Argentina, Oscar Arevalo, member of the Political Commission and Secretariat of the Central Committee;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of Australia, Lewis Connor, member of the National Executive;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of Austria, Hans Kalt, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee;
-- Representative of the Pan-African Congress of Azania (south Africa), Johnson Mlambo, chairman;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of Belgium, Daniel Fedrigo, member of the Central Committee;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of Bolivia, Carlos Carvajal Nava, member of the Central Committee;
-- Representative of the Revolutionary Party of the Nationalist Left of Bolivia, Manuel Cardenas Mallo, executive secretary;

-- Representative of the Brazilian Communist Party, Almir de Oliveira Neves, member of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee;
-- Delegation from the Bulgarian Communist Party, led by Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee;
-- Representative of the Committee of National Revolution of Burkino Faso, Uedrago Sajdua, coordinating delegates;
-- Delegation from the CPCZ, led by Miloslav Kruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Presidium;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of Chile, Rodrigo Rojas, member of the Central Committee Secretariat;
-- Representative of the Radical Party of Chile, Mario Jorge Kinso, member of the national leadership;
-- Representative of the Socialist Party of Chile, Hernan del Canto, member of the Central Committee;
-- Representative of the Socialist Party of Chile, Sergio Mimica, member of the Central Committee;
-- Representative of the Socialist Party of Chile, Carlos Briones, member of the Central Committee;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of Denmark, Freedy Madsen, member of the Central Committee Politburo;
-- Representative of the Socialist People's Party of Denmark, Gert Petersen, chairman;
-- Representative of the Dominican Communist Party, Jose Antonio Rivas Tavares, member of the Central Committee;
-- Representative of the Ecuadoran Communist Party, Luis Emilio Veintimillo, member of the Central Committee;
-- Delegation from the Workers Party of Ethiopia, led by Fisseha Desta, member of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee;
-- Representative of the Finnish People's Democratic League, Hilk Aalto, member of the Executive Committee;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of Finland, Mirja Ylitalo, member of the Central Committee Politburo;
-- Delegation from the French Communist Party, led by Roland Leroy, member of the Central Committee Political Bureau;
-- Delegation of the French Socialist Party, led by Pierre Brana, national secretary;
-- Representative of the Unified French Socialist Party Victor Leduc, member of the Central Committee Politburo;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of Greece, Nikos Kitzias, candidate member of the Central Committee;
-- Delegation of the Communist Party of Greece (interior), led by Sotiris Valden, member of the Executive Bureau of the Central Committee;
-- Delegation from the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (Pasok), led by Dzeni Karaveli, member of the Executive Bureau of the Central Committee;
-- Representative of the People's National Congress of Guyana, Robert Korbin, member of the Central Committee;
-- Representative of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, Seik Feroze Mohamed, member of the Central Executive Committee;
-- Representative of the Labor Party of the Netherlands, Stan Popue, the deputy chairman;
-- Representative of the Netherlands Communist Party, Kornelis Anton Imkers, member of the party's leadership;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of India, [name indistinct] Faruqi, member of the National Council;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), Samar Mukherjee, member of the Central Committee Politburo;
-- Delegation from the Indian National Congress-I, led by A.K. Antony, general secretary;

-- Delegation from the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party of Iraq, led by Tariq 'Aziz, member of the Regional Command;
-- Delegation of the Italian Communist Party, led by Alessandro Natta, secretary general;
-- Delegation from the Proletarian Democracy Party of Italy, led by Mario Campanna, national secretary;
-- Representative of the Italian Socialist Party, Martino Scovacricchi, member of the leadership;
-- Delegation from the Japanese Communist Party, led by Yasuo Ogata, member of the Central Committee Presidium;
-- Delegation from the Socialist Party of Yemen, led by Sa'if Munassar, member of the Central Committee;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of Canada, William Stewart, member of the Central Committee Politburo;
-- Delegation from the Communist Party of China, led by Xi Zhongxun, member of the Central Committee Politburo;
-- Representative of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), Mikhail Olimbios, member of the Central Committee;
-- Representative of the Socialist Party of Cyprus (EDEK), Janakis Omira, member of the Central Committee Political Bureau;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of Colombia, Gilma Valencia, member of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee;
-- Delegation of the Korean Workers Party, led by Yi Chong-ok, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee;
-- Delegation of the Communist Party of Cuba, led by Juan Almeida Bosque member of the Central Committee Politburo;
-- Delegation of the Communist Party of Lebanon, led by Sa'd al-Massarani, member of the Central Committee Politburo;
-- Representative of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon, Salah Abu al-Hasan, member of the Central Committee;
-- Delegation of the General People's Congress of Libya, led by 'Abd al-Raziq al-Sawsa, deputy secretary general;
-- Delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, led by Ferenc Havasi, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee;
-- Representative of the Mali People's Democratic Union, Filifing Sissoko, party's general treasurer;
-- Representative of the Labor Party of Malta, Charles Mangioni, deputy secretary for the party's international relations;
-- Representative of the Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco, Thami al-Kjari, member of the Central Committee Politburo;
-- Representative of the United Socialist Party of Mexico, Gilberto Rincon Gallardo, member of the Central Committee Politburo;
-- Delegation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, led by Tumenbayaryn Ragchaa, member of the Central Committee Politburo;
-- Delegation of the Mozambican Liberation Front (Frelimo), led by Armando Guebuza, member of the Central Committee Politburo;
-- Representative of SAWPO, Kaweke Katamila, member of the Central Committee Politburo;
-- Delegation of the SED, led by Guenter Schabowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee;
-- Representative of the German Communist Party, Josef Schleifstein, member of the leadership;
-- Representative of the SPD, Freddie Gerhard, member of the Executive;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of Norway, Gunar Sorbo, member of the Central Committee Politburo;
-- Representative of the Labor Party of Norway, Brit Sulc, member of the General Secretariat;

-- Representative of the Socialist Party of the Left of Norway, Tore Haug, deputy chairman;
-- Delegation of the PLO, led by Faruq Qaddumi, head of the PLO Executive Committee Political Department;
-- Representative of the People's Party of Panama, Cleto Manuel Souza Batista, member of the Central Committee Politburo;
-- Representative of the American Revolutionary Popular Alliance (APRA) of Peru, Cesar Lopez Silva, national secretary;
-- Delegation of the United Left of Peru, led by Alfonso Barantes Lingan, chairman;
-- Delegation of the Polish United Workers Party, led by Marian Wozniak, member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of Portugal, Sergio de Matos Vilarigues, member of the Political Commission and of the Central Committee Secretariat;
-- Delegation of the Romanian Communist Party, led by Ion Coman, member of the Political Executive Committee and Central Committee secretary;
-- Delegation of the People's Front for the Liberation of Saguiat al-Hamra and Rio de Oro (Polisario), led by Ali Beiba, Executive Committee member;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of San Marino, Mauro Fiorini, Central Committee member;
-- Delegation of the Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome e Principe, led by Manuel Pinto da Costa, president of the MLSTP and president of the Republic;
-- Delegation of the CPSU, led by Geydar Aliyev, member of the Central Committee Politburo;
-- Representative of the Seychelles People's Progressive Front, Ritu Sinon, secretary for international cooperation;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of Syria, Muhammad Zahir ' Abd al-Samad Skafa, member of the Central Committee Politburo;
-- Delegation of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party of Syria, led by Rashid al-Tarini, member of regional leadership;
-- Delegation of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, led by Muhammad Ali Warsame, member of the Central Committee;
-- Delegation of the Communist Party of Spain led by Simon Sanchez Montero, member of the Executive Committee and of the Central Committee Secretariat;
-- Representative of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party, Rafael Vallego Rodriguez, member of the Executive Committee;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, Peter Djajasekere, member of the Central Committee Politburo;
-- Representative of the Ceylon Equal Society Party, Bernard Soysa, secretary general;
-- Representative of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, Kingsley Wikeramatratne, Central Committee member;
-- Representative of the Progressive Organizations of Switzerland, Christian Sachler, member of the Presidium;
-- Representative of the Swiss Party of Labor, Andre Rauber, member of the executive;
-- Delegation of the Party of the Left (Communist) of Sweden, led by Bror Engstrom, member of the Central Committee's Executive Committee;
-- Representative of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Sweden, En Kock, assistant secretary general;
-- Delegation of the Party of the Revolution of Tanzania, led by Patric Silverius Koro, member of the National Committee;
-- Delegation of the Destour Socialist Party of Tunis, led by Frej Sajeb, member of the Central Committee;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of Turkey, Ali Ileri, member of the Central Committee;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of Uruguay, Eduardo Viera Ruiz, member of the Central Committee's Executive Committee;
-- Representative of the Socialist Party of Uruguay, Eduardo Fernandez, member of the Central Committee;

-- Representative of the Communist Party of Great Britain, Paula Lanning, member of the Central Committee's Executive Committee;
-- Representative of the Communist Party of Venezuela, Trino Melean, secretary of the Central Committee Political Bureau;
-- Delegation of the Democratic Action Party of Venezuela, led by Ruben Carpio Castillo, member of the National Directional Committee;
-- Representative of the Movement for Socialism of Venezuela, Rafael Gero Ramos, member of the Central Committee's Executive Committee;
-- Delegation of the United National Independence Party of Zambia, led by Reuben Kamanga, chairman of the Central Committee Political Department;
-- Representative of the SED of West Berlin, Klaus Feske, member of the Executive Bureau;
-- Representative of the Labor Party of New Zealand, Fred Gerbich, member of the Executive;
-- Representative of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV), Crispin Gomez, member of the National Council;
-- Delegation of the African People's Union of Zimbabwe -- Patriotic Front, led by Sindey Tigere Sekemaraj, member of the Central Committee Politburo;
-- From the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) of Nicaragua, Daniel Nunez, member of the FSLN Assembly;
-- From the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador, Jorge Villacorta, member of the Political and Diplomatic Commission.

Further Delegations Named

LD270427 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1710 GMT 26 Jun 86

[Text] Belgrade 26 Jun (TANJUG) -- A list of foreign delegations to the 13th LCY Congress who have arrived during the congress:

The Belgian Socialist Party [PSB] (Robert Jolu, president of the federation of the PSB for the Namur department);

The Gabonese Democratic Party (Dr Eloi Chambrier, Rahandi, member of the Poltiburo and director of DIALOGUE; and Marcel Kiki, head of the cabinet of general secretary -- founder of the party);

The National Front for the defense of the Revolution and Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution -- AREMA of Madagascar (Armand Rimambazafry, member of the Politburo, responsible for information and propaganda);

The National Movement of Resistance of Uganda (Katinda Otafiri, assistant minister for local administration).

Speakers Address Defense Commission

LD261325 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croation 0920 GMT 26 Jun 86

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 26 Jun (TANJUG) -- Our all-people's defense and social self-protection concept can provide successful answers to all the challenges and dangers threatening our security and independence, stressed Branko Mamula [federal secretary of national defense] who was the first person to take the floor in the discussion today in the commission for all-people's defense and social self-protection. Speaking on the military-political situation in the world, he stressed that all the dangers and possible forms of application of military force against our country were studied comprehensively and adequate answers sought within the framework of the all-people's defense concept.

The fundamental values of our revolution and our socialist self-management construction are no doubt the premise on which our defense must be based. They are the integrity of our country; brotherhood, unity, and equality; the sociopolitical and the socioeconomic system of socialist self-management; and our independent foreign policy. Branko Mamula stressed that the Armed Forces were outside the inter-republican-provincial debates, keeping away from nationalism which could exercise and organize a significant influence, and from all forms of sociopolitically unacceptable conduct. However, LCY organizations in the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and the leading Army cadre feel in full measure all the difficulties implicit in keeping the purity of the Army.

We consider, stressed Branko Mamula, some attempts to deny the Army the right as a social factor to be on par with all other forces of our society and participate in the quest to devise paths to extricate ourselves from the crisis; to be harmful, socially and politically unacceptable. The JNA grew from the national liberation, the revolutionary movement, and war conducted to liberate the country and establish a new Yugoslav socialist and social community. Only by always being the center of revolutionary processes, neither separated from society nor shut off from it, can the JNA be and remain the backbone of our all-people's defense protecting our society, defending the country, and keeping its deep-rooted people's and progressive character.

Unfortunately, there is a great deal of naivety and misunderstanding about our defense, the role of the Armed Forces in general, and the JNA in our society in particular. This is skillfully taken advantage of by various enemy forces in pursuit of their antisocialist and antiself-management activity. Let us take the example of the so-called "peace movement," the demands to stop arming ourselves, and the demands that the so-called "military service as a civilian" be introduced; not to mention the views and demands designed for all intentional purposes to wreck the unity of our Armed Forces.

This includes the so-called thesis about national armies and the thesis that the JNA presents a brake on the socialization of the defense business. In an independent and nonaligned country such as ours one can quite justifiably ask the question as to the purpose of the internal "peace movement," particularly if this movement surfaces and waxes strong in the conditions of intensified threat to Yugoslavia's security. "The peace movement" surfacing in our country could be in the direct service of the implementation of the interests of those external and internal forces who are bothered by our Yugoslavia and who wish to threaten our security and independence.

Mamula went on to stress that he saw no possibility of our all-people's defense and social self-protection concept, such as that formulated by Tito, in our lasting orientation. For all intentional purposes -- he stressed -- this means that we will resolutely work for the maintenance of all its social requirements without which, in fact, this concept would not exist.

Speaking on the issues pertaining to the further build-up of our Armed Forces, Mamula drew attention to certain misconceptions as to the role of our territorial defense, although our orientations are very clear -- each of the two component parts of our Armed Forces, both the JNA and territorial defense, has its place and role to play in our armed struggle doctrine, which is a united doctrine.

The moral-political situation in our Armed Forces as a whole has been preserved; we have not had any problems shaking the JNA and creating difficulties for our society, said Branko Mamula. We could say the opposite, that with our activities and overall state of relations we in the JNA have contributed to the sociopolitical stability of our country, which is what we did during any previous period and during this latest one which in many respects was exceptionally difficult. Our assessment has been that only a clear and absolutely irreplaceable spirit of Yugoslavia can be our line with the Armed Forces of all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. I must say that along that line we have been and we continue to be exposed to sharp attacks and it seems to us that these attacks were increasingly conspicuous preceeding the 13th LCY Congress. Implicit in all these attacks is the attempt to prove that because some other factors of the cohesion of our society have weakened we have become a serious threat to usurp social authority and in the final analysis to impose ourselves on others. It is not difficult to guess from which internal and external forces these ideas originate or the perfidious nature of such a message, stressed Branko Mamula.

Slavko Sorsak stressed that ideas have been expressed recently which do not coincide with, or are opposed to the LCY program, and that we are increasingly and frequently witnesses to differing views in many areas. Controversial ideas are proposed that encroach on the basic principles of all-people's defense and social self-protection.

Seen as a whole, Sorsak stressed, the socialization of this sphere is positive. We have an increasing number of nonArmy cadres who are involved with this problem and it is thus not surprising that new ideas are being proposed. In the case of Slovenia, new alternative groups are also increasingly concerning themselves with the problems of all-people's defense -- ecologists, pacifists, feminists and so forth. Here certain ideas are also being proposed which cannot be entirely accepted, or cannot be accepted at all.

Here, however, we must distinguish hostile stands from those that are well-intentioned.

Theories relating to the Army have been well-intentioned, Sorsak said, and have not had a hostile character. Their authors were not fully aware of the ideological values of such views, but I consider that this is no reason for replying to them with repression. We must defeat them in an argued manner; and we have done this when the theories that we do not need the Army, or that the concept of all-people's defense of some other countries is better than ours were proposed within the pacifist movement.

I wish to stress, Sorsak said, that some of the ideas of the Slovene youth are wrongly interpreted by the Yugoslav public. For example, the demand that signs in Slovene barracks should be in Slovene, and those in barracks in Macedonia in Macedonian, are proclaimed as nationalistic, but that is not the case. Thus, the wrong impression is created that public opinion in Slovenia is against the accepted concept of all-people's defense. We must be prepared to accept different views in this area because there is no reason why we should not also accept the view that nothing is so sacred that it cannot be superseded.

Franc Krajnik spoke of the need for improving and modernizing the system of telecommunication links in the country, noting that this is an important factor in defense capability both in peacetime and in the event of war.

Speaking about national relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dusko Zgonjanin stressed that the working people of this republic are very sensitive to phenomena of nationalism, and that all declarations from unacceptable positions are very firmly branded as such. Enemies of various hues attack us unscrupulously, count our numbers and attempt to divide us but will certainly not succeed. Thus, some say that Serbian and Croatians are moving away from this republic under pressure from Muslims, while Muslim nationalists, on the other hand, disseminate the idea that Muslims are persecuted in Yugoslavia. Virtually any natural migration is attributable to duress, Zgonjanin said, advocating more positive action by the LC.

Dane Petkovski stressed the great importance of the information media in strengthening all-people's defense and social self-protection. Two thousand papers in the country write about this topic among others, and about 5,000 articles are written on the subject each year. The information media have performed their tasks in this sphere honorably and honestly, Petrovski said.

2d Day Defense Session Held

LD271422 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0953 GMT 27 Jun 86

When it comes to preventing attacks on social ownership the system of self-protection does not yield the expected results, according to Petar Paljkovljevic, first participant in this morning's discussion in the commission for all-people's defense and social self-protection. Having said that different measurements were used to measure some phenomena of antisocialist and anti-self-managing behavior, he outlined as a priority task the standardization of criteria in all the environments.

Stressing that between the two congresses the organs of internal affairs successfully carried out their part of the duty within the framework of the system of social self-protection, Milutin Marinkovic recalled that they could realize their role only with the assistance of the other subjects of this system.

He illustrated this by producing statistics which showed that about 4,000 people died in fires and road accidents, about 50,000 were lightly or seriously injured, while material damage caused by explosions, fires, road accidents, and economic crime amounted to more than 128.5 billion dinars. He added that in 1985 a total of 610 criminal charges were brought against political offenders, that is, between 0.2-0.4 percent of the total number of charges, refuting claims by certain circles abroad and individuals in the country that the freedoms and rights of citizens in Yugoslavia are restricted.

After the 12th LCY Congress socialist forces in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo waged a broad struggle to preserve the gains of the revolution, to break up counterrevolutionary activity from positions of Albanian irredentism and nationalism, and to oppose other aspects of hostile activity in the province, said Rahman Morina. However, despite this broad activity, there are still instances of illegal activity of irredentists whose aim is to break up Yugoslavia, to encourage the emigration of the Serbians and Montenegrins, and to create an ethnically pure Kosovo. There are various commentaries on measures taken against irredentists -- they are assessed as either too severe or too mild. Morina said the measures taken were adequate, because all those who attack the foundations of our social system must bear the full force of the law.

The emigration of Serbians and Montenegrins under duress was seen by Morina as the most serious consequence of hostile activity, because it has led to the cooling of international relations in Kosovo. It is high time, he noted, to deal with this problem in a more concrete fashion, because we cannot be satisfied with the results achieved so far in halting emigratin.

Winding up his speech, Morina said that there are some environments in which a lack of trust is being expressed in overall measures taken in order to stabilize the situation in the province. This lack of trust, as he put it, should be overcome, because it has negative consequences for the ideological and action unity of communists.

The LC and other progressive forces of Kosovo need support, he added, because apart from the struggle againt the exponents of Albanian irredentism and nationalism, we must also oppose the exponents of other types of nationalism. It should no longer happen that someone, whose work reflects ideological deviations, gets a better post or function, as has been the case in Kosovo as well as in other environments.

In Savka Djakovic's opinion, the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium on Kosovo should be passed, together with adopting the political platform of the LCY on Kosovo. According to her, although about 4,000 members of illegal organizations have been arrested in the province, they did not form an educational system or change the names of streets and schools or import Albanian text books into the country or use the Albanian flag. This was done, she added, by the party and state leaderships in Kosovo whose work was therefore quite "legal". Because of such activities, which caused the counterrevolution in 1981, many from the Provincial Committee, the Presidium, the Executive Council, or the leadership of other sociopolitical organizations of Kosovo avoided criticism and were not called to account legally, politically, or in any other way although there was sufficient ground for this. One gets the impression that some people enjoy privileges and protection, said Savka Djakovic, and this is basically an aid to counterrevolution and separatism. Those who advocate separation from Yugoslavia must not be protected, because while this is done there will be no end to the counterrevolution, illegal organizations will flourish, and the conclusions of the Presidency and the Presidium will be called into question.

We expect that the consistent implementation of this document, she concluded, will put an end to the counterrevolution and the activity of irredentists in Kosovo, so that 1981 is never again repeated and in order that brotherhood and unity should reign.

Speaking about attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army, which have not been infrequent in recent time, Tihomir Vilovic recalled the attitude of Comrade Tito at the meeting in Karadjordjevo in 1979, when our supreme commander explicitly demanded that we should preserve and consolidate the Army, in order to be ready at any moment to oppose any kind of pressure. There were such pressures in the past 6 years and there are certainly going to be others in the future. However, some communists seem to try and do completely the opposite, Vilovic said.

The time has come to call things by their real names. When I say that, Vilovic stressed, I also have in mind theses which are infiltrated about the Army and commentaries in some of the press which greeted them as "fresh winds". Can we allow the Yugoslav People's Army to be identified with imperalist and conquering armies and also the demand voices at the youth congress for soliders to throw away their guns and leave their generals in order to become their own commanders?

Lojze Briski said he does not agree with the view that Slavko Sorsak tried to minimize the problems in question. He pointed out the causes of such ideas and behavior of a minority of Slovene youth and saids that some theses from the youth congress should not be over-exaggerated, particularly the fictitious ones.

Dragisa Drljevic, Hisen Hisenaj, and Zivojin Jovic also took part in the discussion.

After exhuastive discussion, Semeon Buncic submitted a report on the commission's work. Several amendments to this report were submitted and therefore the proposed document will need to be altered. The final report should be adopted tomorrow morning, before the plenary session of the congress.

Delegates also requested that more attention should be devoted to the integrational role of the Yugoslav People's Army, a resolute struggle of the LCY for the unity of the country, and the settling of accounts with opportunism in the party and society.

27 June Proceedings

LD271220 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1123 GMT 27 Jun 86

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, June 27 (TANJUG) -- The 13th League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress, now in its third day, has made it clear that the development of socialist self-management on which Yugoslavia has based its economic and social system for almost 40 years, remains the two-million-member organization's main line of activity.

Yugoslav communists see self-management the way to ensure the unity of this multinational country, and the common interests of workers in overcoming the present economic crisis.

The six commissions of the congress, which started work on Wednesday, were scheduled to close their debates at around noon today. However, the commission for socio-economic development, in whose work almost one third of the 1,740 delegates are participating, will resume after a brief plenary session this afternoon so as to formulate the planned documents by tomorrow.

This party congress is the ninth since the country's liberation in 1945 and the second to be held without Josip Broz Tito who led the party from 1937 to his death in 1980.

Both the introductory report and the debates emphasized the determinaton to follow Tito's path, both in internal development and in fundamental premises of the foreign policy he laid out -- independence and nonalignment.

The fact that the 13th Congress is being attended by representatives of 113 parties and movements from around the world is confirmation of the independent foreign policy of both Yugoslavia and its party. The congress closes tomorrow when the results of this evening's elections for top bodies will be announced. The new Central Committee of 165 members will elect the 22-member Presidency and its president tomorrow.

Zarkovic Chairs 27 June Session

AU271706 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Excerpts] The second plenary session of the 13th LCY Congress concluded about 30 minutes ago. Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who chaired the plenary session, first recalled that it is 27 June today, Self-Managers Day, and then said:

[Begin recording] Our working people and citizens expect that the 13th LCY Congress, proceeding from the experiences gained in the development of the socialist self-management, will provide answers to questions concerning the further development of our society, which should be faster and more successful. I therefore propose [applause]...[Zarkovic repeats himself] I therefore propose that we continue the further work of the congress in this spirit. [end recording]

Further in the session the delegates of the 13th LCY Congress adopted the report on the work of the LCY organs between this congress and the preceding congress, and then embarked upon electing a new leadership. The results of the voting will be announced tomorrow at the third plenary session.

At the second plenary session, Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, spoke on the 36th anniversary of Self-Managers Day. He then greeted the representatives of the parties and movements that arrived during the sitting of the 13th LCY Congress. He informed the congress about the greetings and letters which have been received from the organizations, working people, and citizens from the country and from abroad.

Having noted that the discussions in the commissions fully accepted the positions of the report by the president of the Presidium and the reports of the LCY organs, President Vidoje Zarkovic proposed to the congress to adopt the reports on the activites of the LCY and the work of the Central Committee, the Commission for Statute Questions, and the Control Commission since the last congress.

The delegates adopted the reports unanimously and approved the work of the Central Committee and the two commissions, and voted that these be relieved.

From the second plenary session, let us first hear the words of remembrance which Vidoje Zarkovic spoke on the occasion of Self-Managers Day:

[Begin Zarkovic recording] In the past 36 years, despite all the difficulties and contradictions, socialist self-management stood the test of the challenges of the time. In our practice, socialist self-management has been confirmed as an irreplaceable factor of our social and economic development and of a democratic solving of social contradictions and problems.

It became an inalienable achievement of the workers class and all the working people of and peoples nationalities. Thanks to the development of our socioeconomic and political system on the foundations of social self-management, regardless of all the difficulties and shortcomings, the socioeconomic position of the workers class in our country has been radically changed.

By all yardsticks, this period was the most fruitful in the entire history of the Yugoslav people and nationalities. [end recording]

Ali Sukrija, president of the Commission for the Election of New LCY Organs, further during the session explained the details connected with the procedure of election and voting, both up to now and in that part of the procedure which the delegates of the 13th congress are to carry out. In this connection he stressed:

[Begin recording] The reports of the central committees of the LC's of the republics, the LC provincial committees, and the Committee of the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army stress that the entire election activities for the election of candidates for members of the LCY organs were conducted fully in an open and democratic atmosphere and with an active participation of the widest party rank-and-file. [end recording]

In the nomination and election procedure, a large number of candidates were proposed for LCY organs, and the central committees of the republics, the provincial committees, and the Committee of the LCY in the Yugoslav People's Army were mutually consulted about these candidates in a democratic procedure. Of course, the rank-and-file also said their word about the candidates. The candidates for the new LCY organs, Sukrija went on to say, are much younger, and the class-social and the gender structures have also been improved. For instance, 35 percent of the candidates are between 35 and 50 years of age. About 30 percent of the candidates are direct production workers. As many as 127 candidates are new persons, and some 40 are from the present organs. The new LCY Central Committee will have 156 members.

Sukrija also explained some details of protocol connected with the voting for new organ members. The delegates then began voting, and in a few minutes the commissions which still have to conclude their work will meet in congress halls. Some of them will work all afternoon, for there are still some delegates who wish to speak in commissions.

The third plenary session of the 13th LCY Congress has been convened for tomorrow morning.

Closing Session 28 June

AU281704 [Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 0630 GMT on 28 June carries jointly with other Yugoslav radio stations the live relay of the plenary session on the last day of the 13th LCY Congress at the Sava Center in Belgrade.

Radisa Gacic, chairman of the plenary session, opens the session by saying: "Comrades, I am opening the third plenary session of the 13th LCY Congress. Let me greet most warmly the representatives of parties and movements who arrived at the 13th LCY Congress during its work. I am greeting the representative of the Democratic Party of Senegal, Diek Endiak, Politburo member."

After applause, Gacic lists movements and parties which sent messages during the congress: "Mariam Haile Mengistu, president of the Republic of Ethiopia [applause]; Ivory Coast President Felix Boigny [applause]; Kenenth Kaunda, president of the Republic of Zambia [long applause]; Arturo Delvalle, president of the Republic of Panama [applause]; the Tupak Revolutionary Movement from Bolivia [applause]; the Sudanese Communist Party [applause]; the Free Bolivia Revolutionary Movement of the Left [applause]; the Socialist Party of Bolivia [applause]."

Radisa Gacic then says that Cvijetin Mijatovic will speak about revolutionary Djuro Djakovic on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Djakovic's birth. Mijatovic takes the floor at 0633 GMT and speaks for 24 minutes about Djuro Djakovic's life and his role in the history of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

After Mijatovic concludes his speech, Chairman Radisa Gacic asks Ali Sukrija, president of the Commission for the Election of the LCY Organs, to announce the results of the elections of the members of the LCY Central Committee, the Commission for Statute Questions of the LCY, and the LCY Control Commission, which were held yesterday.

At 0658 GMT, Sukrija reports that the Election Commission noted that the elections had been carried out in conformity with the 13th LCY Congress rules of procedure and that out of the 1,715 delegates and members of the LCY organs entitled to vote, 1,694 had voted; 21 delegates, or 1.23 percent, failed to vote. Sukrija reads the names of the elected members of the LCY Central Committee and the two commissions, with the number of votes each received. Sukrija adds that 14 additional names were written in on the ballots for Central Committee members, of which 2 got 2 votes each and 12 got 1 vote each. He does not name them.

Chairman Gacic calls for the reports of the six congress commissons in which discussions were held on previous days. At 0716 GMT Stefan Korosec reports on the Commission for the Development of Socialist Self-Managing Socioeconomic Relations and Economic and Scientific-Technological Development; at 0748 GMT Ivan Brigic reports on the Commission for the Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management; and at 0813 GMT Jakov Lazaroski reports on the Commission for the Ideopolitical, Organizational, Action, and Cadre Building and Activities of the LCY and for the Statute Questions.

After each of these reports, Gacic asks if anybody wants to speak. Nobody asks for the floor, and each report is, in turn, adopted without any votes against.

At 0838 GMT, Chairman Gacic grants a break, and reopens the session at 0920 GMT. More reports by commissions are submitted and adopted. At 0921 GMT, Silvija Zugic-Rijavec submits the report on the Commission for Ideological Questions of Education, Upbringing, Science, and Culture. At 0948 GMT, Stanislav Stojanovic submits the report on the Commission for Questions of International Cooperation of the LCY and the Foreign Policy of Yugoslavia; and at 1007 GMT the congress, at the proposal of the commission, considers a statement on the situation in southern Africa.

Gacic says: "You see from the draft statement which has been distributed that it is a matter of expressing solidarity and unreserved support for the struggle of the peoples of South Africa for the abolition of the apartheid regime, the elimination of colonialism, and for freedom and equality of the peoples of this region." After applause and no dissenting votes, Gacic declares that the congress has adopted the statement.

At 1009 GMT, Simeon Buncic submits the report on the Commission for Questions of All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection. Like the previous reports of the congress commissions, this report is adopted without a vote against and with no one asking to speak on it.

At 1030, Pal Benak submits the report of the Commission for Proposals and Petitions, which again is adopted without any discussion and without a vote against. Gacic then closes the session at 1046 GMT.

The fourth plenary session of the 13th LCY Congress opens at 1126 GMT with Milanko Renovica in the chair. He calls on Milan Kucan to submit his report on the resolutions proposed to the congress, which had been distributed to the delegates. After Kucan speaks Renovica puts the nine resolutions, one after another, to a vote. Nobody asks for the floor and each resolution is adopted unanimously.

At 1207 GMT, Jure Bilic reports on the amendments to the LCY Statute. Following his speech, chairman Renovica asks if anybody wants to speak. Danica Milosavljevic says she wants to raise "a question which is very important. It refers to Article 2 of General Principles, where it says that LCY members and their leagues in the republics and provinces are united in the LCY. An amemdment has been proposed, but it has not been adopted."

She says that the wording suggests that "the basic idea of the LCY is federalistic, which historically is absolutely untrue for the LCY has never united from parts. The LCY was formed in 1952 at the Sixth Congress and adopted the name of LC because the Communist Party, analyzing its role in the conditions of the development of workers self-management, found that it should be the leading force of the workers class, within the class rather than above the class; therefore it adopted Marx's name, the name of Marx's League of Communists." Milosavljevic then states that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was formed in 1919 as a united party.

"Considering that the public discussion decided, as if by a plebiscite, against federalization and a federal spirit in the LCY," Milosavljevic proposes that the passage be deleted.

The next to ask for the floor is Djuro Bilbija, who welcomes the democratization of the cadre policy that the Central Committee is to propose to the next LCY congress, as Bilic said. He refers to Article 42 of the Statute, which in Section 3 states that "the electoral body decides on the number of candidates for election to LC organs," while an amendment proposed would add the phrase "which as a rule is larger than the number of candidates to be elected."

Bilbija suggests that this is opposed to the position adopted at the 16th LCY Central Committee session which imposed the obligation to have more candidates than posts to which they are to be elected, without the qualification implied in the phrase "as a rule." Bilbija says that the amendment proposed "unfortunately does not enhance the principle but opens the door to an extremely wide avoidance of the principle." He therefore proposes that "the esssence of the 16th plenum position be built into the text of the Statute."

Bilbija says: "I think that without a clear, resolute position on several candidates for all the offices, without any exception, including the exceptions allowed by this as a rule, we shall miss the opportunity to democratize the cadre policy to such an extent that the LC may be the decisive factor of democratization of the situation and relations in society as a whole." Some applause is heard from the hall at these words.

Bilbija says that the elections in the LC of Croatia have shown that even when several candidates are proposed, the proper national composition of the bodies need not be jeopardized. The example of Bosnia-Hercegovina strengthens his argument. He also thinks that if an underdeveloped commune lacks the number of cadres need for several candidates for each post, one should not, for the sake of such a commune, adopt a principle that is "harmful for Yugoslavia or the LCY."

Chairman Renovica interrupts and asks for the wording of his amendment, but Bilbija continues to wonder aloud how the old Central Committee members and the delegates from Croatia will vote on this point.

Another delegate asks for the floor at 1247 GMT: "My name is Milois Provic and I will be brief. I ask that the congress adopt amendments connected with party membership fees so that the party membership fee will be uniform in the LC and that we do not entrust this to the Central Committee but to this congress, so the fee will be uniform. Thank you." Applause and murmurs follow.

Chairman Renovica sums up the amendments proposed, which he says refer to Article 2, Article 42, and Article 140 of the Statute. He asks Jure Bilic to comment on behalf of the commission.

Bilic says that these amendments were expected. As to the first amendment, he says that the commission proposed that the preamble of the Statute be amended at the next congress to contain a historical outline of the formation of the party. "In this way we would avoid all the misunderstandings that may arise from Article 2 and the term united. There is no sense in my advancing views countering the comrade while in front of the congress. We would resolve this quandary in this way."

Renovica questions Bilic about his position on the amendment and Bilic says he stands by the original proposal. "All right, let us go on. Explain now," Renovica urges. Bilic continues to say that the amendment is not acceptable.

"All right. You heard the opinion on the first amendment. Please, Jure, go on," Renovica says. Bilic says that a vote should be taken. Renovica puts the Milosavljevic amendment to a vote and declares it to be rejected, which is accompanied by applause.

Bilic then talks about the amendment concerning several candidates for each post, says that the 16th LCY Central Committee adopted a position on this, and adds: "I suppose that matters will be more difficult in this respect, but we have been talking about it for a year." He says that the congresses of Croatia and Montenegro and the Yugoslav People's Army conference had several candidates to start with. "One could not say not that a congress with several candidates or a congress that decided to propose as many candidates as there were to be elected is more or less democratic. It is the will of these delegates and consciousness was greater here than there."

Bilic says that it was left to the republican congresses and conferences to decide, "for positions differed in the preceding discussions.

"We had 10,000 registered discussions in connection with the 13th Central Committee session. Some comrades made an analysis of the proposals made and this question of several candidates was not dominant, as it was presented to the public. Comrade Kucan said that the question of public opinion is also the question of the one who creates this public opinion.

"Therefore, leaving the matter to the republican and provincial conferences and LC's, we believed that the LCY is carrying out its duty following its precept of several candidates; for various reasons, as well as some national reasons, we leave it to the committees and the congresses to explain it to their members and to their delegates. We therefore adopted the position that we keep to as a rule. I am talking about the position of the majority. How I would decide is another question, but it serves no purpose to state it. The majority, the majority was in favor, and the congresses and the conferences that were held showed that the majority is in favor of this position." Bilic says that leaving it to the republics and provinces is also democratic, his remark is greeted with applause.

Renovica says: "This means that the commission insists on its position and does not accept the amendment." He then puts the Bilbija amendment to a vote.

An indistinct voice is heard from the floor and Renovica asks whether it is another explanation of another amendment. "There is no need for it," he says. "We have heard the amendment and we have heard your explanation. Does the congress agree that we hear it again?" A chorus of "no" is heard from the hall. Renovica asks for the vote and declares that the majority is against the amendment.

He then asks Bilic to explain the commission view on the Perovic amendment. Bilic says that the question of the party membership fee was discussed and that the positions of the LC of Serbia and of Macedonia, "if I am not wrong," were taken into consideration. It was decided that the Central Committee should deal with this problem. Bilic explains that personal incomes differ in the ratio of 6 to 1 from one republic to another and that this affects the membership fees.

Renovica notes that the commission stands by its proposal, puts the Perovic amendment to a vote, and says the chair thinks the majority is against. "Should we have a count of votes?" he asks and is answered by a chorus of "no" from the hall. He declares the amendment has been rejected.

Snezana Pesic asks for the floor at 1304 GMT. She refers to the 15th amendment proposed by the Statute Commission, which would delete the word "more" in Article 40, Section 4. She explains that this refers to nominations for party posts, in which "more young people and women" should be represented. "This means that more would be deleted from this more young people and women; how would this then sound?"

Bilic says: "I propose that this more be left in." Laughter is heard, then applause.

Renovica says that the commission has accepted this amendment, and when nobody else asks for the floor, he puts the statute amendments as proposed by the commission to a vote. He declares that the statute is adopted with two votes against.

At 1307 GMT, Renovica makes his concluding speech and closes the congress at 1326 GMT. A choir sings "Comrade Tito, We Swear to Thee," and the relay ends.

Central Committee, Others Elected

LD281503 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0828 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jun (TANJUG) -- The 13th LCY Congress has elected a new Central Committee, Supervisory Commission and Commission for Statutory Questions of the LCY.

The following have been elected to the LCY Central Committee by a two-thirds majority of votes:

Mato Andric, Milos Bajcetic, Sucro Bandic, Dmitrije Baucal, Ivan Brigic, Stane Brovet, Josip Bukovcan, Radoslav Bulajic, Seniha Bulja, Simeon Buncic, Tomo Cerjan, Darja Colaric, Dusan Ckrebic, Nurhan Cato, Dusica Danilovic, Ladislav Darabos, Teza Dimic, Dimitar Dimidzievski, Suzana Dinevska, Raif Dizdarevic, Stane Dolanc, Svetislav Dolasevic, Dusan Dragosavac, Ivo Druzic, Enver Djerdjeku, Dalij Djonlagic, Milo Djukanovic, Mladen Djurin, Josip Eterovic, Andjelija Filipovic, Slobodan Filipovic, Radisa Gacic, Vangel Gagacev, Milan Gorjanc, Miomir Grbovic, Bozidar Grubisic, Vinko Hafner, Gojko Hajdukovic, Sinan Hasani, Vladimir Hodaj, Ahmet Hodzic, Hrvoje Istuk, Branko Jercinovic, Lambe Jovanoski, Nerandza Jovanov, Radovan Jovanov, Nikola Jovanovic, Vjekoslav Jurcic, Ivo Karamarko, Milka Kikovic, Vojislav Knezevic, Rudi Kolak, Martina Kolar, Stefan Korosec, Dragutin Kosovac, Radoje Kostadinovic, Andjelko Kovacevic, Sergej Kraigher, Adem Krasnici, Dara Krnetic, Antun Kruljac, Bosko Krunic, Muhiba Kulovic, Dragana Labus, Branko Ladjevic, Mihajlo Lalic, Marko Lolic, Vukasin Loncar, Anton Lukezic, Nandor Major, Mladenko Maksimovic, Branko Mamula, Ante Markovic, Krste Markovski, Petar Matic, Suljo Mehic, Ahmet Mehovic, Esad Merdic, Munir Mesihovic, Vukasin Micunovic, Ivan Mihaljev, Branko Mikulic, Mihajlo Milojevic, Stevan Mirkovic, Blagoje Mitanoski, Lazar Mojsov, Rahman Morina, Said Mujkanovic, Boris Muzevic, Djuro Nemet, Branka Obrenic, Borislav Odadzic, Marko Orlandic, Marjan Orozen, Milica Ozbic, Tosum Pahumi, Jovo Panajotovic, Milan Pancevski, Milica Pejanovic, Mihajlo Pesic, Marica Petrovic, Milka Planinc, Jordan Pop-Jordanov, Milovan Popovic, Hamdija Pozderac, Trajko Prendzov, Ivica Racan, Radovan Radonjic, Tomislav Radovic, Hasim Redzepi, Bogoljub Redzic, Milanko Renovica, Stevan Santo, Zorka Sekulovic, Maksimilijan Senica, Branislav Simic, Dobrivoje Simonovic, Joze Slokar, Andrej Spasov, Borisav Srebric, Boris Stankovski, Ivan Stojanovic, Nikola Stojanovic, Stanislav Stojanovic, Ali Sabani, Frank Setinc, France Sifkovic, Petar Simic, Kolj Siroka, Drago Sofranac, Borut Suklje, Ali Sukrija, Stipe Suvar, Taip Taipi, Dragan Tomic, Stanko Tomic, Nedelko Trajkovski, Bodgan Trifunovic, Vasil Tupurkovski, Igor Ursic, Ugljesa Uzelac, Ljubomir Varoslija, Matija Vaslovic, Sanije Veselj, Dobrivoje Vidic, Radovan Vladjkovic, Josip Vrhovec, Milutin Vukasinovic, Perko Vukotic, Mladjen Vukovic, Janez Zahrastnik, Janez Zemljaric, Dragica Zgrebec, Snezana Zlatar, Janko Zupancic, Vidoje Zarkovic.

The following have been elected by a two-thirds majority of votes to the Supervisory Commission of the LCY:

Milo Asanovic, Ognjen Huskic, Zivorad Jakovljevic, Anica Kuhar, Gligor Poposki, and Pero Skrlin.

The following have beern elected with the necessary two-thirds majority to the Statutory Commission of the LCY:

Dusan Apostolov, Vukojica Boskovic, Milan Fabjancic, Joze Florjancic, Rade Glavic, Milomir Jakovljevic, Risto Jovanovic, Nikola Jurcevic, Andrej Kardelis, Olga Labudovic, Nikola Matovski, Vesna Seljubac, Jovo Ugrcic, Voislav Vasileski, and Cedo Volas.

LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ELECTS PRESIDIUM

LD281734 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jun (TANJUG) -- Immediately following the close of the 13th KCY Congress, the first session of the newly elected LCY Central Committee was held at which the LCY Central Committee Presidium was elected in a secret ballot. Of the 165 members of the LCY Central Committee, 162 voted, and there were no invalid ballot papers.

The Presidium has 23 members, and 14 were elected today, since the presidents of the republican and provincial LC organizations and of the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army are ex-officio members of the top party forum.

The elected members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium obtained the following number of votes: Ivan Brigic (161), Dusan Ckrebic (142), Radisa Gacic (158), Stefan Korosec (158), Bosko Krunic (147), Marko Orlandic (160), Milan Pancevski (152), Ivica Racan (155), Milanko Renovica (160), Franc Setinc (155), Kolj Siroka (160), Stipe Suvar (135), Vasil Tupurkovski (149), and Vidoje Zarkovic (152).

Members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium ex-officio are: Georgije Jovicic, Milan Kucan, Jakov Lazaroski, Slobodan Milosevic, Miljan Radovic, Stanko Stojcevic, Milan Uzelac, Djordje Stojsic and Azem Vlasi.

Biographies of Presidium Members

LD290254 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1525 GMT 28 Jun 86

["13th LCY Congress: Biographies of Members of LCY Central Committee Presidium -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jun (TANJUG): Ivan Brigic: born 1936, Stipanici, Duvno, Bosna-Hercegovina, a Croatian; LC member since 1957; university-level professional training.
Vidoje Zarkovic: born 1927, Nedajno, Pluzine, Montenegro, a Montenegrin; LC member since 1943; higher school of political sciences; awarded "Partisan Medal 1941."
Marko Orlandic: born 1930, Seoci, Bar, Montenegro; LC member since 1948; university-level professional training.
Stipe Suvar: born 1936, Zagvozd, Imotski, Croatia, a Croatian; LC member since 1955; university doctorate.
Ivica Racan: born 1943, Ebers Bach, Germany, a Croatian; LC member since 1959; university-level professional training.
Milan Pancevski: born 1935, Debar, Macedonia, a Macedonian; LC member since 1957; higher school of political sciences.
Vasil Tupurkovski: born 1951, Skopje, Macedonia, a Macedonian; LC member since 1973; university doctorate.
Franc Setinc: born 1929, Brezice, Slovenia, a Slovene; LC member since 1948; university level professional training.
Dusan Ckrebic: born 1927, Nis, Servia, a Servian; LC member since 1945; university level professional training.
Kolj Siroka: born 1922, Prizren, Kosovo, an Albanian; LC member since 1941; university-level professional training. Awarded "Partisan Medal 1941."
Bosko Krunic: born 1929, Prohovo, Pecinci, Vojvodina; a Serbian LC member since 1946; university-level professional training.
Milanko Renovica and Radisa Gacic, who have been proposed as president and secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, are also members of the Presidium.

Ex-officio members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium are also the presidents of the organizations of the LC of the republics and provinces and of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army: Milan Uzelac, Miljan Radovic, Stanko Stojcevic, Jakov Lazaroski, Milan Kucan, Slobodan Milosevic, Azem Vlasi, Djordge Stojsic, and Georgije Jovicic.

Renovica Presidium President

LD281605 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1537 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Text] Belgrade 28 Jun (TANJUG) -- Immediately after the LCY Central Committee session the LCY Central Committee Presidium held its first session, at which the president, secretary, and executive secretaries of the Presidium were elected.

Milanko Renovica was elected president of LCY Central Committee Presidium with a 1-year mandate, and Radisa Gacic was elected secretary of the Presidium with a 2-year mandate.

From the members of the LCY Central Committee, the Presidium elected the executive secretaries of the LCY Central Committee presidium: Slobodan Filipovoc, Marko Lolic, Vukasin Loncar, Boris Muzevic, Stanislav Stojanovic, Ugljesa Uzelac, and Ljubomir Varsolija.

Renovica's Background

LD282330 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1522 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Text] Belgrade, June 28 (TANJUG) -- Milanko Renovica, 58, was elected the new president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency today. Renovica, who is of Serbian nationality, has a degree in law and has been a member of the LCY since 1947. Up to April this year, Renovica was a member of the Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Renovica has held various posts in Bosnia-Hercegovina, mostly in the economic field.

They included that of member of the Sarajevo City Committee of the LC, member of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina Central Committee and member of its Presidency. He was the premier of the Bosnia Hercegovina government from 1974 to 1982 when he was elected a member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency.

Gacic Elected Secretary

LD282326 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1535 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Text] Belgrade, June 28 (TANJUG) -- Radisca Gacic, 48, was today elected secretary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency with a two-year mandate. Gacic who has a degree in law, has been a member of the LCY since 1957. He is from the Republic of Serbia and of Serbian nationality. Gacic was a secondary school teacher until 1970, after which he held various posts in the League of Communists of Serbia. Up to May this year, he was the secretary of the LC of Serbia Central Committee Presidency.